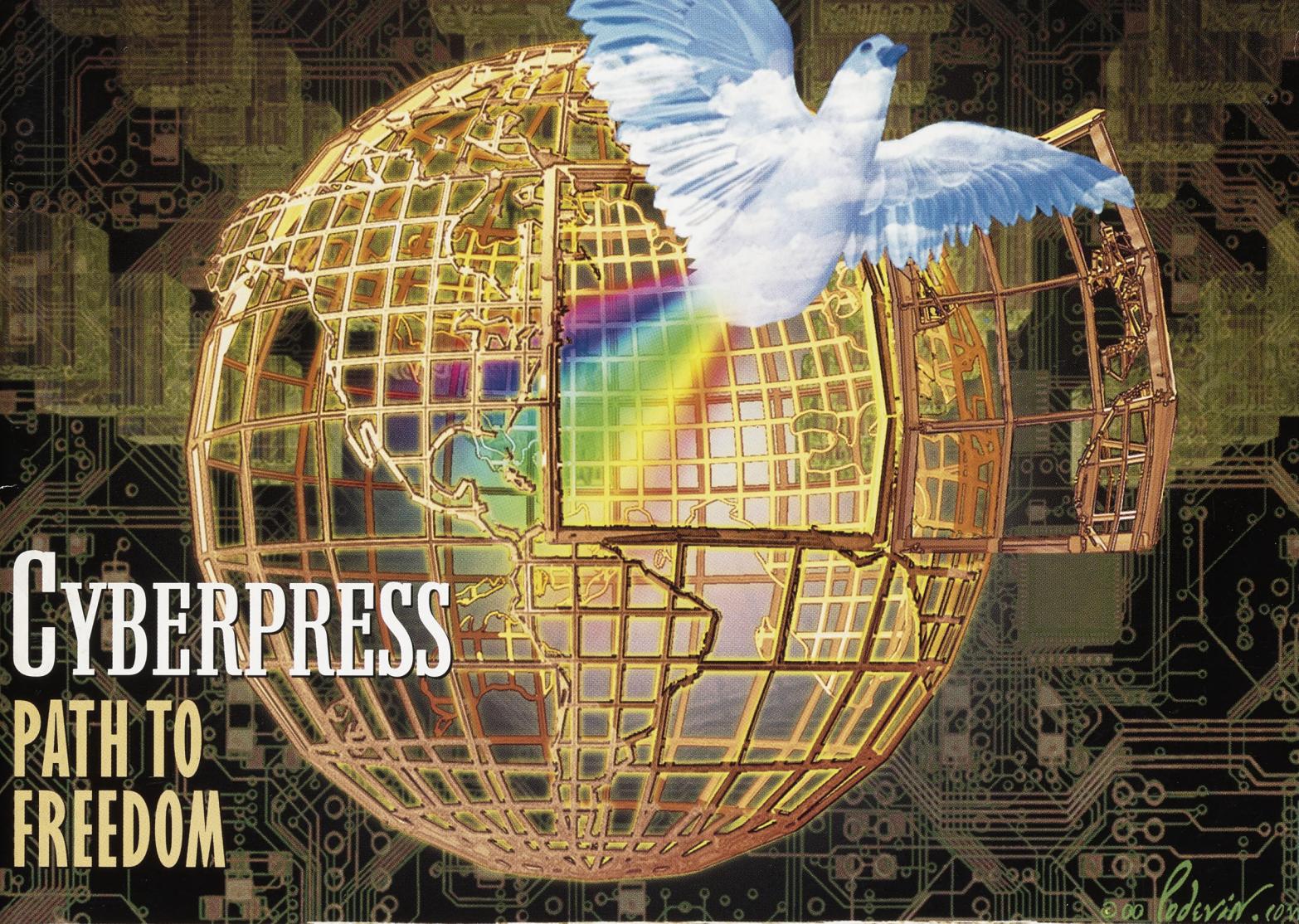


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# Dateline



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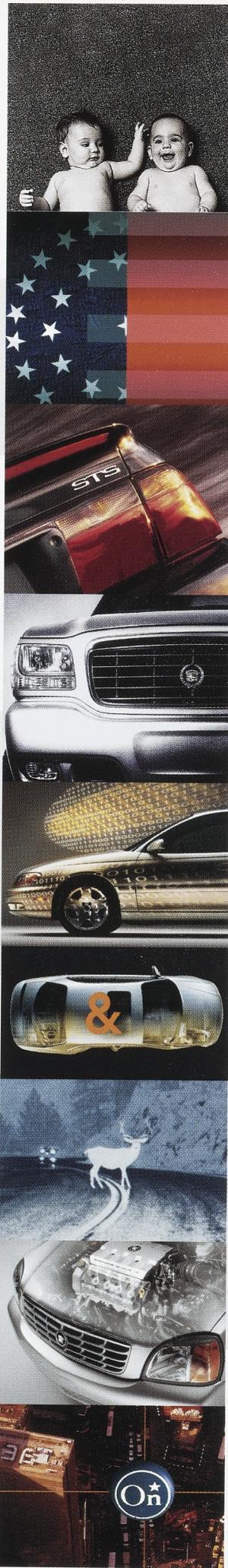
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# Dateline

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**JUST THE FACTS:** *The old ways of print may be dead or dying, but reporters and editors are thriving in the electronic era*

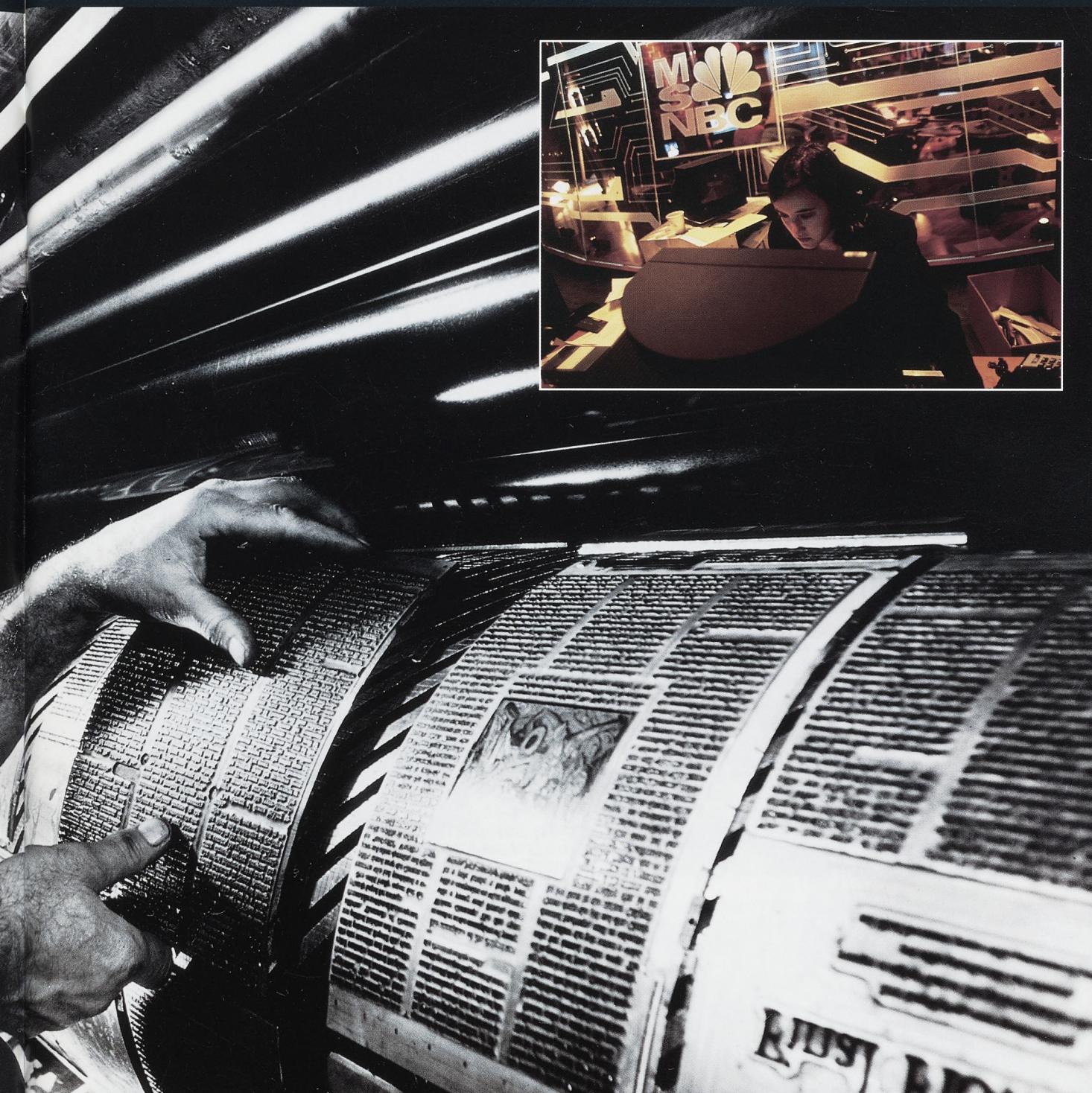
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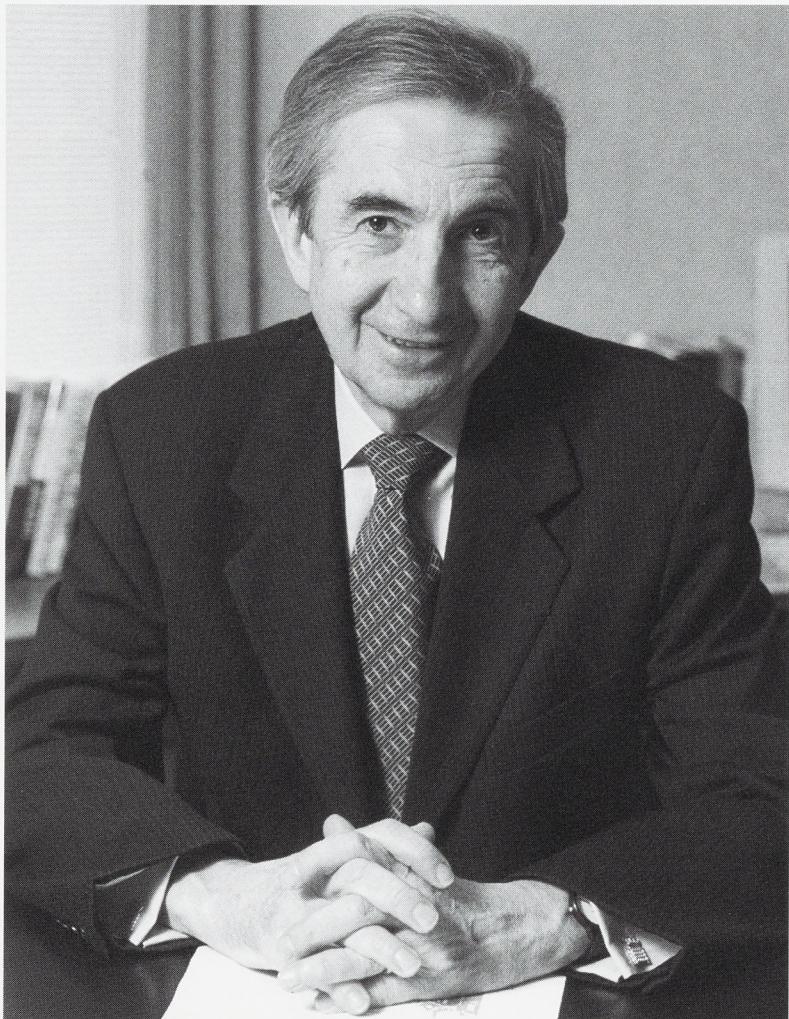
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# Letter from the President

**A**s I look over these snapshots taken at some of the recent parties and programs held at our new home, I can't help but recall the 10 years previous, when we were homeless. Without a clubhouse, membership slid below 500, and the OPC was in danger of becoming extinct.

The attraction of these new digs, plus a little gentle prodding from some of our governors, has resulted in a surge of 100 applications. That has kept our admissions committee hopping, which doesn't bother its members a bit. So we urge all of you perusers of this illustrated letter who aren't yet members to consider joining—or if you already belong, please beat the drum loudly for the OPC.

My term ends in September, and I would like to leave this office with a club that is 700 members strong. That's the least a lame duck president could ask for.

With best regards,

*Roy Rowan*



**BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI HOLDS A PRESS CONFERENCE (LEFT); NEW MEMBERS ARE WELCOMED TO THEIR CLUBHOUSE (ABOVE)**



**A SUCCESSION OF PRESIDENTS (ABOVE): ROY ROWAN, JOHN CORPORON, AND BILL HOLSTEIN**

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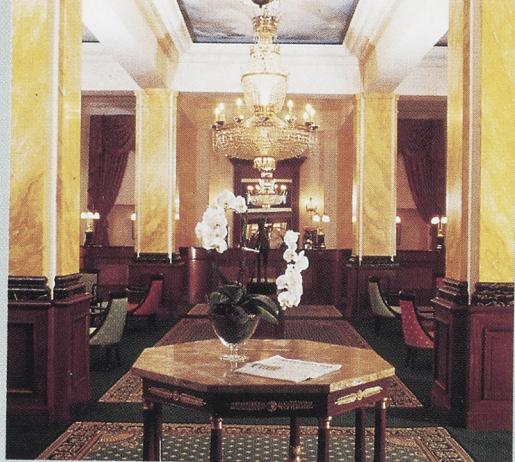
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THE WORLD'S NEWS LEADER

Recollections by Roy Rowan

## 'Gimo Offtook For Taipei...'



**MAO TSE-TUNG,  
ALLIED SUPPORTER,  
WITH U.S.  
AMBASSADOR  
IN 1945**

**R**emember those pre-satellite, pre-laptop days when foreign correspondents wore trench coats and carried portable typewriters? Most of you probably don't. But back then it was often easier to uncover a good story or score a photographic scoop than it was to send back the words and pictures.

The words went over wires in abbreviated cable-ese. "Gimo offtook for Taipei smorning," was how a reporter colleague of mine in Shanghai first notified his editor in New York in 1949 that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had fled the Chinese mainland for Taiwan. And home-office queries coming back to the field could be just as terse, sometimes precipitating a smart-ass reply. "How old Chiang?" wired the editor to my friend, who apparently had forgotten to include the generalissimo's age in his file.

"Old Chiang fine. How you?" answered the reporter.

Pictures, of course, presented the most serious problem, especially for magazines that couldn't tolerate fuzzy wire photos. In most cases, rolls of undeveloped film had to be shipped from overseas in special red packets marked "DO NOT XRAY," usually on lumbering DC-4 prop planes that couldn't fly anywhere nonstop.

That meant the photographer first had to get customs clearance for his exposed film. If heavy censorship happened to prevail in the country of

origin, that could cost days. Or worse, the film might even be confiscated if the pictures were believed to be embarrassing to the local government. Clearance was also required when the film arrived in the U.S., necessitating the use of expensive, slow-acting customs brokers. Half a century ago, all those obstacles added an element of suspense to covering many overseas stories.

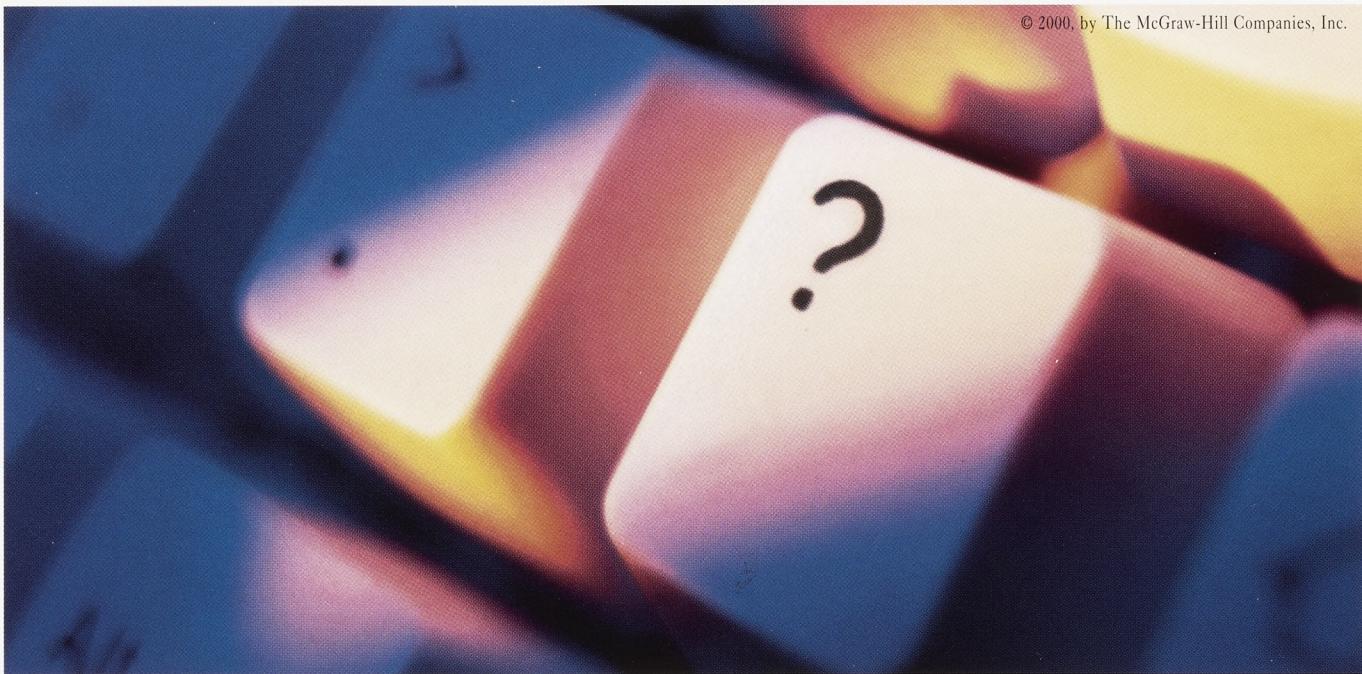
On a few occasions, a magazine might go to extremes to get an exclusive report into its pages quickly. In October, 1948, *Life* photographer Jack Birns and I flew into Manchuria

and discovered that Chiang's Nationalist armies were abandoning their weapons and fleeing in disarray. A chunk of China bigger than California, Oregon, and Washington combined was about to be conquered by the communists. More than 400,000 Nationalist troops had died or been captured. Yet the Nationalist government was trying to keep this a secret. And none of our correspondents

*Getting an exclusive into print often meant extreme measures on the part of reporters—and their editors*



**THE AUTHOR AT  
28 IN MALAYA;  
A REBEL CAMP  
BURNS  
BEHIND HIM**



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dent friends in China were aware of this momentous event.

We had only eight hours to shoot our story and get out before Mao's troops arrived. Hitching a ride back to Shanghai on a returning ammo plane, we landed there Saturday morning, the day when *Life*, then a weekly, was scheduled to go to press in New York. Luckily we were able to hand the film packet to a passenger boarding a Pan Am plane headed for San Francisco. In those days, trans-Pacific flights required refueling stops in Guam, Midway, and Hawaii—a 40-hour trip, minus the 13 hours of clock time gained by crossing the international date line.

Our editors happily accepted the challenge and refused to let the logistics deny us a scoop, even though it meant holding the presses until Sunday night. To save precious time, they moved a skeleton editorial staff to the printing plant in Chicago and ordered a portable photo lab set up at the San Francisco airport. Processed between planes, the undried negatives were then couriered in jars of water to Chicago.

**B**ut Chicago was socked in, and the plane landed in Cleveland. A charter pilot was persuaded to fly the courier to fogbound Chicago. Holding the now-dry negatives against the window of a taxi, the managing editor selected five pages of pictures on the way to the printing plant.

People who picked up a copy of *Life* off the newsstand the next day had no idea of the extraordinary effort it had taken to get those exclusive pictures into print. But that was the only way they were going to view the dramatic events that had just taken place in China, because TV was still in its infancy.

Not all scoops were preserved so effectively. On another occasion in 1948, Jack Birns and I were covering the communist insurgency in Malaysia, or Malaya, as it was then called. Accompanying a British-led attack on the rebel leader's jungle hideout, we suddenly found ourselves surrounded. A fierce firefight erupted. The rebel leader was shot dead along with nine of his followers. Birns and myself, lying face down in the tall

*Readers of Life had no idea of the effort that went into delivering a few rolls of film*

*kunai* grass, were almost killed in the crossfire.

Arriving back in Kuala Lumpur with half a dozen rolls of film depicting the whole bloody firefight, we were greeted by AP correspondent and fellow OPC member Stan Swinton. Within an hour, Swinton had the story on the wire to AP headquarters in New York, ruining our exclusive. Of course, AP didn't have the pictures and eyewitness report, which *Life* ran a week later.

During the Korean War, getting eyewitness reports back to New York from the front was a particularly cumbersome process—Involving a bumpy jeep ride of a day or more, followed by a three-hour hop in an empty C-130 cargo plane deadheading back to southern Japan, followed by another flight to Tokyo, where the film would be forwarded to New York.

On Thanksgiving Day in 1950, *Life* photographer Hank Walker and I were with a task force of the U.S. 7th Army pursuing a North Korean battalion along the southern bank of the frozen Yalu River. The river marked the boundary between North Korea and China. The temperature was -25F. With binoculars, we could see Chinese soldiers positioned across the river, bundled up in their padded yellow uniforms—though China had not entered the war.

A few days later, we saw footprints in the snow covering the frozen river and realized the Chinese had infiltrated our lines and taken up positions behind us during the night. It proved to be a hairy situation for our task force. Walker and I were lucky to get out before the Chinese could amass more troops and launch an attack.

But it took a week for us to make our way to Tokyo, where we could ship our film. By that time, Mao had announced China's entry into the war, and the

U.S. forces were in full retreat. *Life* ran Walker's pictures, including the dramatic shot of the Chinese soldiers' footprints in the snow. But the speed of ensuing events had beaten us out of an exclusive picture story.

*Roy Rowan is president of the Overseas Press Club. He covered the Chinese civil war and the Korean War for *Life* and subsequently reported and wrote for *Time* and *Fortune*.*



**MAJOR CARROL COOPER IN KOREA ON THANKSGIVING DAY, 1950: THE TEMPERATURE WAS 25 BELOW ZERO**

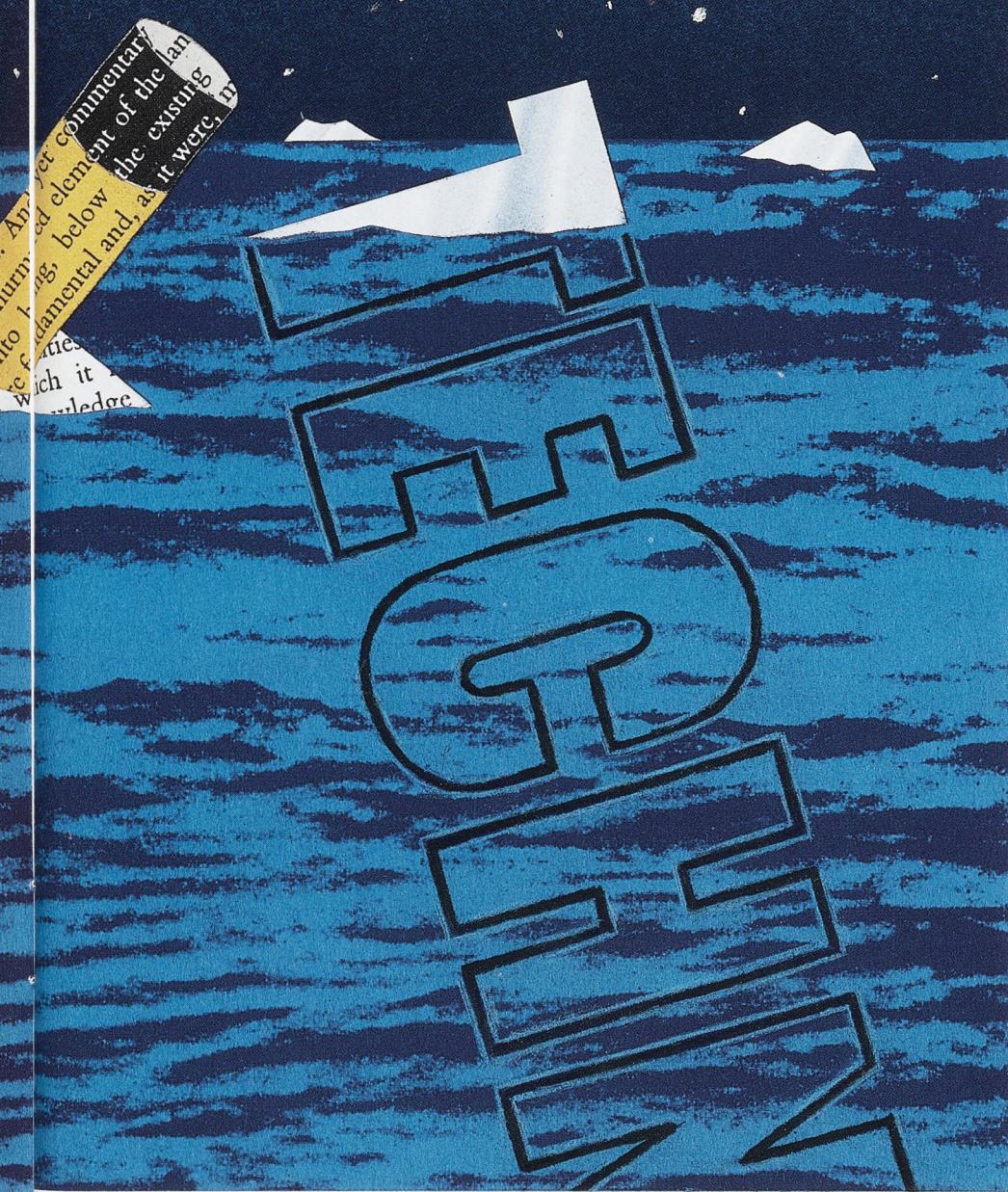


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*You bet, answers  
a Time Inc.  
veteran—and  
with little regret  
at its passing*

By Daniel Okrent

I should begin by establishing my credentials as a paragon of print, an ink-stained wretch, someone with printer's ink coursing through his veins—pick your print media cliché, and it applies to me. Newspapers, magazines, books—all those other wonderful creatures made possible by Gutenberg five centuries ago—are, I'm sure you'll agree, the media that matter. I've spent my entire career engaged by them—going back to working on a daily newspaper when I was in college, then nine years in the book business, several more as a writer of books, and finally, until 1996, 14 years as a magazine editor. Forgive me the three years I spent on the Web, navigating a turbulent sea of bits and bytes as Time Inc.'s editor of new media. I touched land about a year ago, and now I'm writing and editing again. It's nice to be back.

Newspapers, magazines, books: A newspaper gives you timeliness, a magazine perspective, a book lasting value. Each is a firm, palpable entity, a presence in our lives, a companion to our days. I remember what it was like

when I was a child, and my father brought home the newspaper after work. My mother would take what we called in those distant, benighted days the women's section—recipes, fashion news, the advice columns. My older brother, who was readying himself for a business career—he took the stock market pages. I reached for sports, the news of the athletic wonders committed daily by my heroes.

My father had the general news section, and we would each disappear into our own engagements with the wider world, regrouping in time for dinner and a shared conversation about what we had encountered in the daily paper. What could possibly replace something so comfortable, so safe, so adaptable as a daily newspaper?

As for magazines—well, I work for the world's largest magazine company, so it shouldn't be hard for me to make a case for the magazine. There are nearly 10,000 different magazines available in the U.S. today. Great, giant, mass circulation magazines like those Time Inc. publishes—*Time*, *People*, *Fortune*, and so on—and tiny, narrowly focused magazines to cater to the reader's most special interest. I'm a scuba diver. I subscribe to two different scuba-diving magazines, and if I wanted to I could subscribe to a dozen more. Interested in orchids? There are magazines for you. Guitars? I have a friend who subscribes to three guitar magazines. Magazines of every stripe and substance are there to build connections among those of us of a particular interest, or to set the terms of the national conversation on subjects of importance to all of us.

Books? Every one of us in this room could write an anthem

Okrent is an editor at large for Time Inc. This article is adapted from a speech he gave on Dec. 14, 1999, at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.





to the book. The feel of a fine binding, the smell of newly opened pages, the satisfying heft of a book in your hands—can anything top it? When I get home at night, before dinner I sit with a drink in my hand in a room full of books, each one of them an old friend who has accompanied me on part of my life voyage. The book of poems I loved in college, the biography that first introduced me to a great historical figure 20 years ago, the novel that entertained me on a vacation, or maybe the one that explained a piece of the world to me. On my bookshelf is a copy of the best novel about journalism ever written, Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*, a book I re-read every 10 years or so to make certain that, if I stay in this business, I need to remain very, very careful.

As you can see, I can get sentimental about these things we call, by inference, the old media. They mean a lot to me, emotionally as well as economically. I believe they are, after food, clothing, and shelter, and after our family relations and our friendships, the most important things in our lives.

And I believe one more thing: They, and all forms of print, are dead. Finished. Over. Perhaps not in my professional lifetime, but certainly in that of today's young journalists. The headline on this article should really be The Death of Print, full stop.

Twenty, 30, at the outside 40 years from now, we will look

*I can get SENTIMENTAL about these things we call the OLD MEDIA. They mean a lot to me. But they, and all forms of print, are dead. FINISHED*

back on the print media the way we look back on travel by horse and carriage, or by wind-powered ship. In fact, that carriage, and that ship, will have their own print counterparts, which I will get to later. But first I would like to tell you why I am so convinced that those media to which I have devoted my 30 years of professional life are as relevant to our future as the carrier pigeon.

Why is print dead? It's a two-part argument, the first part fairly simple but worth some elaboration, the second part as obvious as the morning sun.

**P**art one, in a phrase, is that we have finally learned not to underestimate the march of technological progress. A little over 30 years ago, I saw my first electronic calculator. It was about the shape of a laptop computer, maybe three inches deep. It weighed eight or nine pounds, and it cost my father's law firm \$500—in 1967 dollars. Today, you can buy calculators the size and heft of a credit card in a convenience store for \$2.

I purchased my first computer, an Apple IIe, in 1980. What a wonder it was! White type—capital letters only—dropped out of a black screen; it processed words at a speed less than 1% as fast as the three-pound laptop that has become the locus, the library, and the lever of my entire professional life. Its built-in memory couldn't accommodate a long magazine article. And my friends and neighbors—sophisticated, educated people—would come over evenings to watch me move blocks of

text from here to there on it. It was that new, that extraordinary. I don't need to tell you what the average computer can do today, nor do I need to tell you similar stories about telephones, or audio equipment, or any other piece of technology. If we imagine it, they will build it.

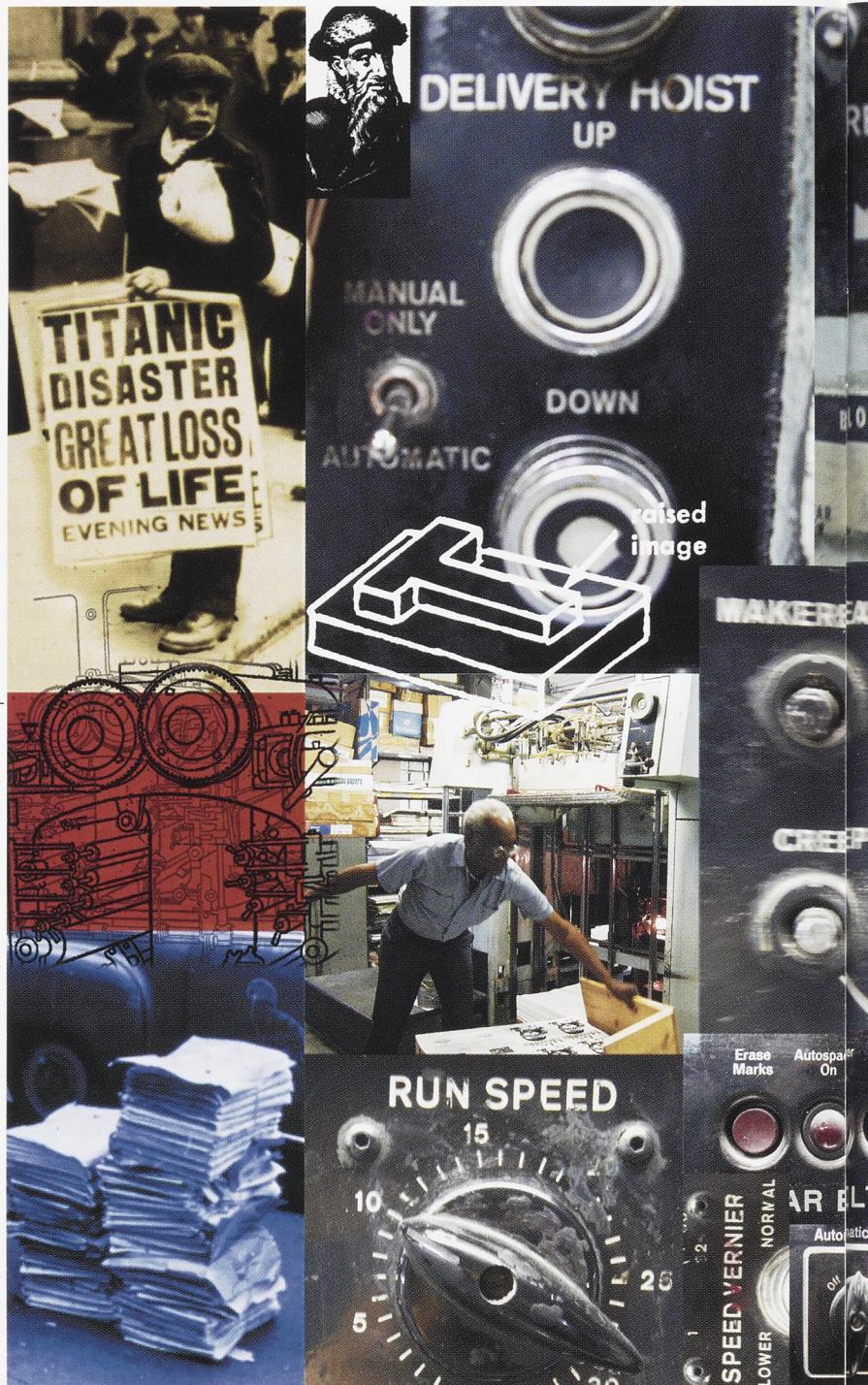
**S**o imagine this (and if you find it hard to imagine, trust me—I've seen it already, in the development office of a well-established Japanese electronics company): Imagine a tablet, maybe half an inch thick, shaped when held one way like an open book or magazine, when turned sideways much like a single page of a newspaper. It weighs six ounces and is somewhat flexible, which makes it easy to transport. (The truly flexible one, which you'll be able to roll up and put in your pocket, is still a couple of years away, so this one will have to do.) Its screen, utterly glare-free, neither flickers nor fades nor grows dull. To move beyond the first screen in

*In the FUTURE that I am imagining, the BOOK becomes an ELITE item for the very few—an objet, a COLLECTIBLE*

whatever it is that you're reading, you run your finger across the top of the tablet—a physical metaphor for the turning of the page. You are sitting on a beach on a Saturday afternoon with this little wonder, and you're reading this week's *Time*. Then you decide you'd like something a little more, oh, entertaining. You press a series of buttons, and a cellular hookup to a satellite-connected database instantaneously delivers you—well, Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*.

And when you've had enough of that—click, click—you move on, to the football news, or the office memoranda you didn't finish reading on Friday afternoon, or whatever it is that you want. Click, click again: Each download, coming to you at dazzling speeds, and a central rights-clearance computer charges your account, much like a telephone account, for what you've read or listened to. The satellite operator keeps a small portion of the income, and the rest goes to the "publisher"—that is, to the firm that either created the material you are reading, or that represents the interests of those who created it.

Or imagine this: Another message comes to you, from—let's say, Coca-Cola. It's an advertising message, and you have been paid to read it. You have been targeted by Coca-Cola, the marketers from that company have found you on the beach, and for the privilege of getting their message in front of you they have paid the satellite operator a carriage fee. The satellite operator, wanting to guarantee the advertising agency that the im-



pression has been made, credits your master account a few cents. For reading the one-minute message from Coca-Cola, you get the first five minutes of tomorrow's electronic newspaper for free. Everyone's happy.

As I said, this technology already exists. It's far too expensive today, and the critical elements of payment systems and copyright protection and royalty accounting have not yet been created. But, I guarantee you that such systems are either in development today or soon will be.

But, you say, who wants to read a good novel on a computer screen, no matter how clear and snappy and portable it is? Who wants to forgo the tactile engagement with a newspaper or magazine, or even more so the deeper, more gratifying physi-



cal connection with a book, and replace it with this potentially alienating form of modern technology?

Well, that brings me to part two of my argument. (The part one promised was as obvious as the morning sun.) And that is this: Last year, Time Inc. spent \$1.2 billion on paper and postage.

End of argument.

Or, if you'd like, let me put it this way: You may prefer to ride across town in horse and carriage, or across a lake in a wind-powered yacht, but no one makes that carriage or that yacht for you anymore, at least not at a reasonable price. So, too, with the book: In the future that I am imagining, the book becomes an elite item for the very few—an *objet*, a collectible—valuable not for the words on the page but for the

vessel that contains those words. Will possession of the physical object matter to the book-loving literati who stalk Morningside Heights? Probably so, though I can't imagine why. Will it matter to the millions who buy a John Grisham paperback and toss it when it's done? Not a chance.

Nor should it. For we—we who work today by accident in paper and ink; who demand, however sheepishly, that vast forests be cut down to make our paper, for vast sums to be invested in hyper-modern printing presses and bindery machines that consume megawatts of environment-befouling energy—we should be happy. For we know—we *must* know—that the words and pictures and ideas and images and notions and substance that we produce are what matters—and *not* the vessel that they arrive in.

I want to step back here to elaborate on business models, consumer prejudices, and what I hope is a somewhat sober-sided consideration of a few of the risks this new world will pose.

**F**irst, business models. To date, we have seen very few media institutions find a way to charge for their digitally delivered content. *The Wall Street Journal*, which is as close as one gets in American journalism to being both unique and essential, has been the leader to date. I admire the *Journal* hugely, both in print and online, but I do want to share with you the real reason for its success, the thing that makes it essential. This was explained to me by my boss, Norm Pearlstine, several years ago when he was the *Journal's* editor: The paper's indispensability, he said, is predicated on the mortal fear, shared by every middle manager in American business, that the boss will say to him or her, "Did you see the piece in the *Journal* this morning about X?"



Well, that works online, too, and several hundred thousand people are now paying Dow Jones for the online paper. But note that they are paying \$59 for an annual subscription to the online edition, while the print edition costs \$175. That's partly because the physical costs—the \$1.2 billion a year, in Time Inc.'s case, that is spent on manufacturing and distribution—have evaporated. In other words, savings have been passed on to the reader, and everybody wins. Except, of course, the paper manufacturers, the delivery services, and the Post Office. So all of you who have been planning careers at International Paper or with the Postal Service, forget it.

But the real power of the business model resides in the potential of digital advertising. Except for direct mail, until the Internet came along no medium existed in which the advertiser could be sure his message was received by his targeted audience. We go to the bathroom during commercials, we flip the pages past magazine and newspaper ads; radio and billboards are white noise. But with a truly interactive medium—with say, a question about the advertisement asked next to the button that gives you your 30¢ credit against the cost of reading your *Wall Street Journal*—the effectiveness of media advertising changes radically.

**S**econd digression: consumer prejudices. Inevitably, whenever and wherever I talk about the Death of Print, someone jumps up and says, "But I hate reading on a computer." This is after I have already explained that the technology will change, that economic incentive will create consumer-friendly reading devices, that my father once paid as much for a four-function telephone-book-size calculator as he did for a low-end used car. Or that Oscar Dystel, the former chairman of Bantam Books and one of the founders of the American paperback book industry in the 1940s, once said, "In due course, the word 'paperback' will lose its taint of unpleasantness." And he said that in 1984.

No, you won't be reading on a cathode ray tube sitting on your desk. No, the screen won't flicker, and the type won't have visible ragged edges. It won't feel anything like a computer. It won't even feel like those early avatars of the form, the Rocket eBook and the SoftBook Reader, that are already showing up in Christmas catalogs and in consumer-electronics stores—not any more than a Model T feels or looks or drives like a 1999 BMW Z3. There's even a guy at MIT, an engineering ge-

*The good NEWS  
is that if you  
LIBEL someone  
at 9 a.m., you  
can CORRECT  
your mistake  
at 9:10 or noon*

arrange themselves sequentially into actual sentences and paragraphs.

Ah, but you say, who will be able to afford such wonderful devices? In fact, nearly everyone. Because we—the big media companies like Time Warner—we will give them away, for all practical purposes, on the cell phone model. Agree to subscribe to *Time* and *Sports Illustrated* for two years, as well as to listen to a certain amount of, say, Warner Bros. Music, and we'll give you the device. We aren't interested in making money off of hardware; we make money off of what you read and watch and listen to.

Last digression: risk. Yes, there are risks. Disaggregated content has already been somewhat socially injurious, and it's only going to get worse, at least insofar as we like to imagine a citizenry that is not only informed, but informed across a range of subjects. The ability to be your own editor—to pick

just what news on what topics you wish to read—destroys the potential for serendipity, and the ease with which we achieve balance. I don't know how we'll solve this one, but we must.

Similarly, there's a risk in the mutability of digital content. The good news is that if you libel someone at 9 a.m., you can correct it at 9:10 or at noon or whenever it is that you learn of your mistake; it's not like sending out a fleet of trucks with a million copies of the *Times* and then realizing what you did wrong. But by the same token, if the words are never written in stone, or at least in ink, what happens to the notion of historical record?

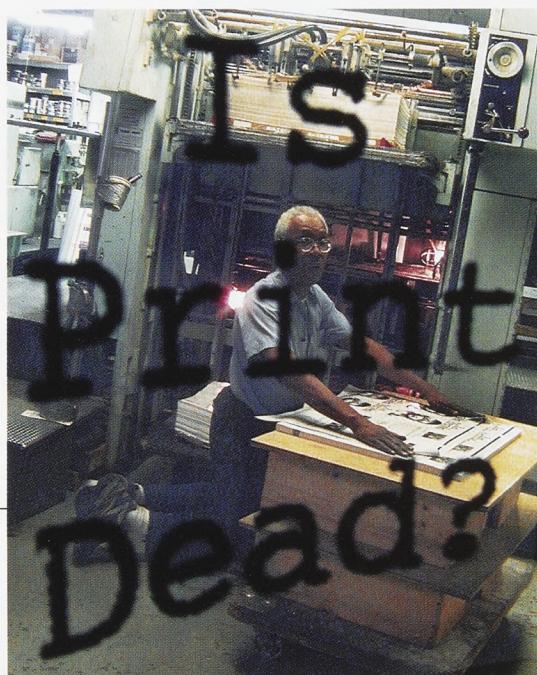
Of course, *that cat has already escaped its bag*. If great writers are producing their works on computer, as most now do, first drafts no longer exist for the study of future scholars—just as the hurried prose of a daily newspaper, "the first rough draft of history," as it has been called, may disappear to the corrections of lawyers.

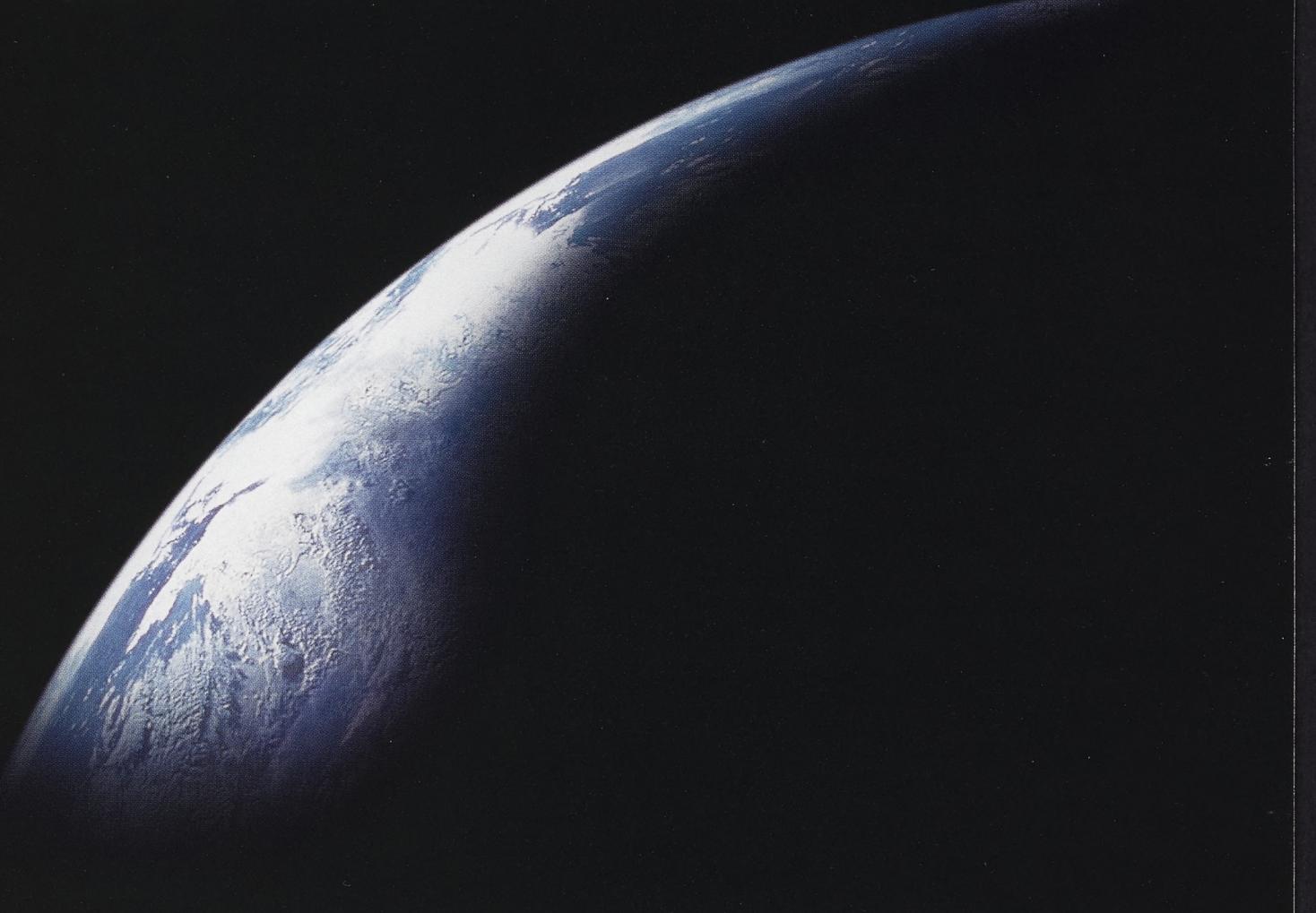
Yet I think we can live with these things, largely because we must.

I will assert once again that the Death of Print is going to happen, far sooner than many of you may think. The word "Internet" was all but unknown in the U.S. six years ago, and Time Inc., which had not yet even imagined its potential impact, had no one working in the Internet arena. Today, the Internet is inescapable; through the advent of e-mail, it is ubiquitous. In the financial markets, it's as essential as dollars. Throughout Time Warner, more than 1,000 people are developing copyrighted Internet product,

or marketing it to consumers. And if you imagine the AOL-Time Warner that should be in place by the end of the year, you surely see how the architects of this megadeal would like to reshape the communication industry. In other words, I really don't think Steve Case is very interested in printing presses.

**F**or now, though, all of this is destabilizing, particularly for those of us who are investing substantially in a future so tantalizingly clear in the ultimate goal, but the path to which is so tangled in thickets of doubt, uncertainty, and confusion. Yet I, for one, take a strange kind of solace in this. What I know to be true is that the human species is hungry for information. That the quality, timeliness, and reliability of information is paramount. And that those of us who grew up in print, who look at the future through unconfident eyes, will be asked to do tomorrow exactly what we have done in the past, which is to reach people—intellectually, viscerally, any way we can—on matters they care about it. My colleagues and I did not grow up wanting to be in the ink and paper and staples business; we wanted to be in—we are in—the business of words and sentences and pictures and ideas. Don't worry about the future of newspapers or magazines or books any more than you would worry about corrugated boxes or shrink-wrap. They are containers; the substance resides elsewhere.





You labor day in and day out to  
keep the world connected.

Wait a minute, that sounds familiar.

Boeing supports efforts to bring the world together—whether it's through words and pictures, or satellites and planes.



# GIVING PRINT BUSINESS

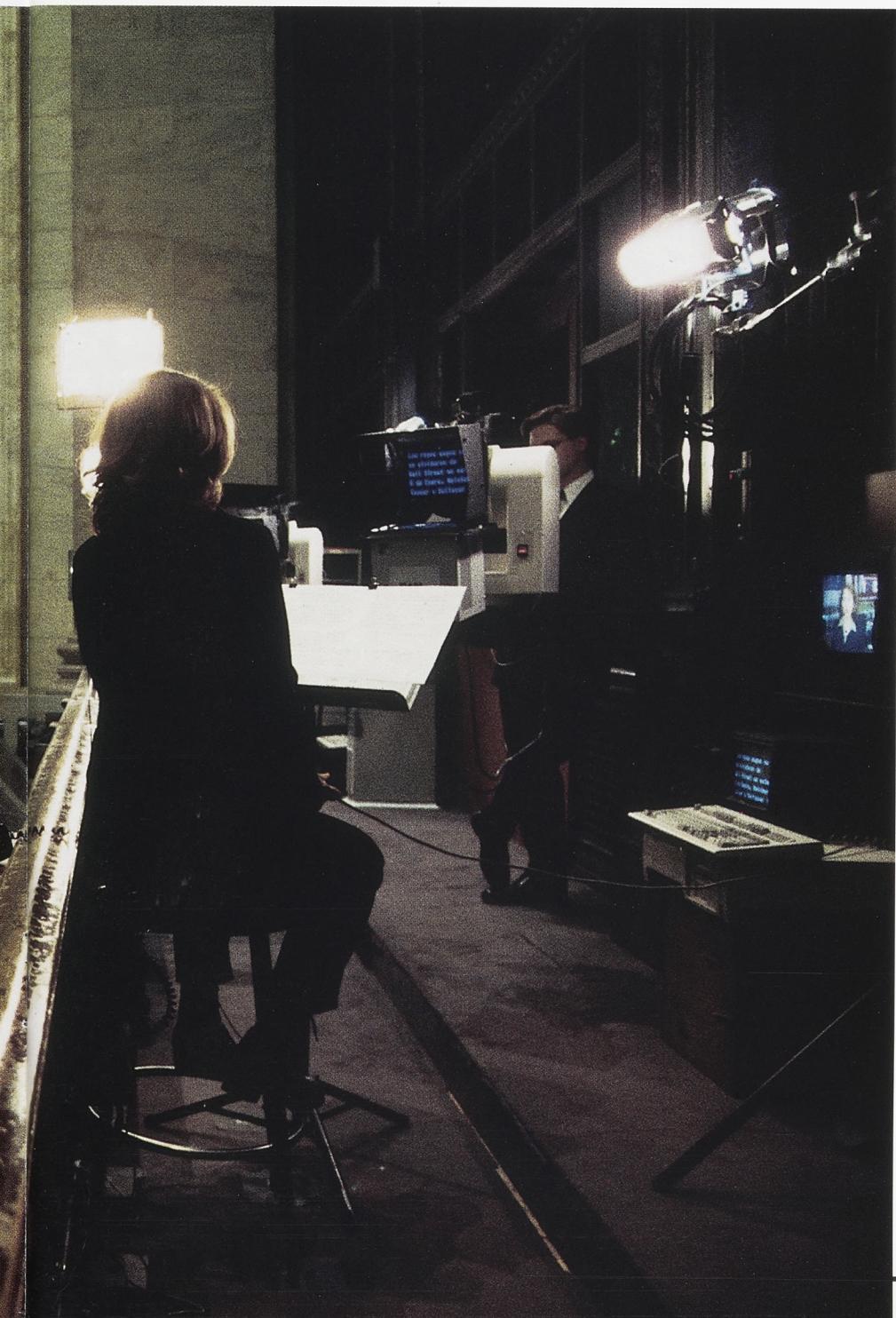


PHOTOGRAPH BY LISA QUINONES / BLACK STAR

# BUSINESS

By Hal Lux

*The stock of online financial journalism is at a five-year high, but what happens when the boom goes bust?*



**T**he comedian Jackie Mason tells a joke about the Internet and paper. And not surprisingly, it's a lot more insightful than many high-priced research and consulting reports on the subject. Here's a rough paraphrase: What if the world always had the Internet, and then someone discovered paper? We would, predicts Mason, all be running around proclaiming the virtues of this new paper invention. It's cheap. You can throw it out when you're done. It's easy to carry around with you.

I doubt someone as smart as Jackie Mason is anti-Internet. More likely, he has already sold the Webcast rights to his current one-man show, and he'll soon be a spokesman for some dot.com wannabe. But I think his joke argues for a little more balance in making judgments about the impact of the Net—and about other purveyors of instant business news like CNBC and CNNfn. And I would argue that balance is especially needed when talking about the Internet and business journalism these days.

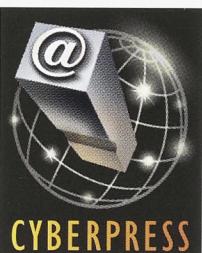
I work in financial journalism, and the impact of the Internet in this field has been nothing short of breathtaking. New online publications such as TheStreet.com and Marketwatch.com have succeeded beyond anyone's expectations. Most major publications, from *Forbes* to *Smart Money*, have launched fully staffed sister Web publications in the hopes of capturing new audiences and getting rich on dot.com IPOs. And the addition of so many publications has pushed salaries for financial journalists sky-high and left every business reporter I know with about four or five job offers. As Jackie Mason might say: What's to complain about?

The dot.com craze isn't just market hype, either. Online publications have produced a new category of financial journalism—part print, part broadcast—that at moments is fresh and exciting. For example, I've never been particularly interested in the next-day postmortems of trading

that appear on every print financial page. But reading about a market plunge at the time the market's actually open and plung-

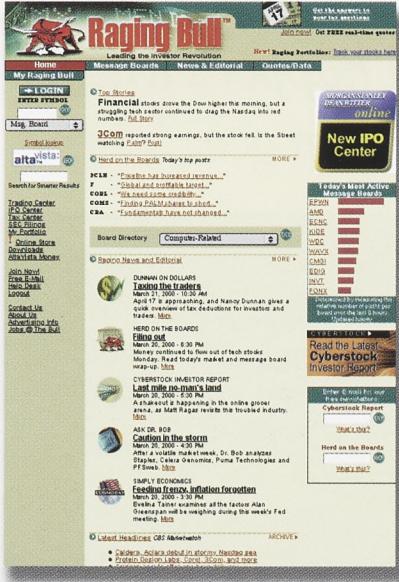
## NET GAINS?

THE BULL MARKET HAS FUELED DEMAND FOR UP-TO-THE-MINUTE NEWS ONLINE



**CYBERPRESS**

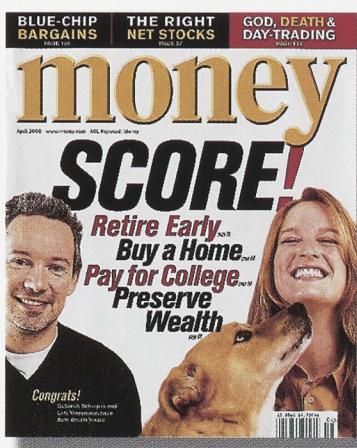
## The Web means competition—and that can only improve financial journalism



ing—now that can be interesting. Street.com founder Jim Cramer has compared this new financial journalism to sports reporting, and, in part, he's right.

Even more important than allowing different types of journalism, the Internet is injecting real competition into the industry. Let's face it, there's not a profession or industry that doesn't benefit from competition. Prior to the Internet, there wasn't much chance that established publications could lose their market to new competitors. Now it is happening constantly. Despite all the hand-wringing about the inferior quality of some stories online, I think the competition generated by the Web—the unprecedented opportunities for upstart publications to knock off industry leaders—is one of the most positive developments in financial journalism since I started reporting a decade ago.

So is paper financial journalism dead? Will we all be publishing online? I doubt it. The benefits of online publishing—immediacy, reach, two-way communications with readers—are obvious. But spend enough time surfing the online financial press, and the drawbacks begin to emerge.



First, online publishing tends to stress immediacy, and immediacy in financial and business journalism is vastly overrated. Online financial publications—with the ability to publish anytime, anywhere—naturally gravitate toward breaking news. For all the excitement of up-to-the-minute coverage, there are a lot of great financial stories that can't be written for days or months after the fact. For now, most online reporters show little inclination to cover them.

To be sure, financial Web sites could publish 5,000-word exposés. There's nothing about paper journalism that gives it an exclusive on investigations. But I suspect that the same technology that allows them to undercut their paper competitors on

some stories will tend to dissuade them from longer-form pieces. If you're driving a hot rod, it's hard not to hit the gas.

I'm also a little dubious about the benefits of reader interactivity extolled by many online business publications. Certainly, it's a wonderful thing for readers to be able to give writers instant feedback on their stories. In theory, creating a space on Web sites where readers can put in their two cents about ideas and themes should add another dimension to financial journalism. And I'm under no illusion that journalists have a monopoly on the great issues of the day or the next hot tech stock to buy.

Unfortunately, most of the efforts at interactivity are really awful. Message boards are insipid. Online chats with journalists are mostly boring. And the craft of working a piece and polishing a story gets replaced with the need to fill the vast space of the Web with something—anything.

Finally, before smashing all the printing presses, we might want to wait until the bull market ends. Readers are flocking to online business publications in large

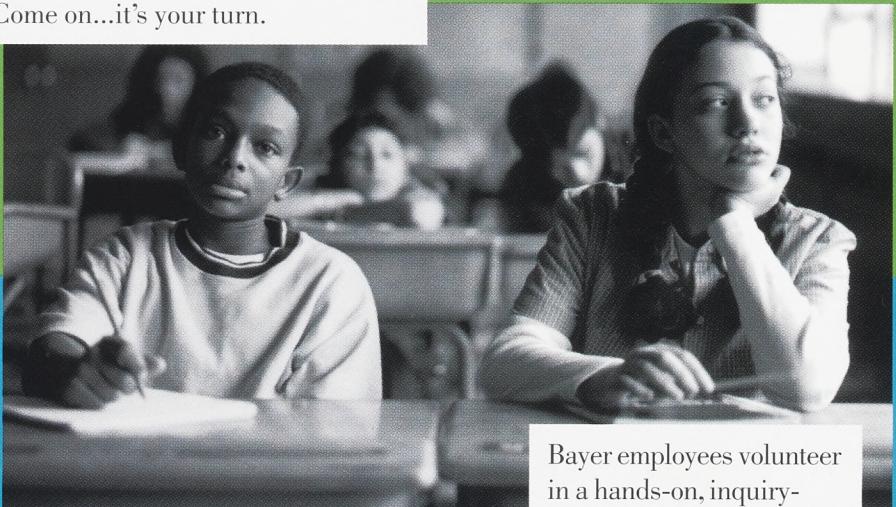
part because of the excitement of a stock market that seems to climb 2% a day. And the online financial press, so far, has pandered to this obsession with stories geared toward high-speed trading and quick turnover. Just how large this readership will be in a falling market remains to be seen.

As audio and video become more practical on the Web, I suspect that many Web sites will gradually shift toward a broadcasting mentality. Their ultimate competition may be the two-minute spots CNBC and CNNfn broadcast during daily trading sessions, not a 2,000-word print piece in a magazine.

The early backers of online financial journalism were right. They have changed the field. They have won. But I think their achievement has been in invigorating journalism with new opportunities and more competition. It is that competition—not the reinvention of business journalism with technology—that will be their legacy. I like to think Jackie Mason—if he cares about EBITDA and analyst downgrades—would agree.

*Lux is a senior editor at Institutional Investor.*

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### THEY'RE HOOKED

YOUNG FINNS OFTEN PERSONALIZE THEIR CELL PHONES BY DOWNLOADING DOZENS OF DIFFERENT RINGING TONES

### UNLIKELY GURU

MATO VALTONEN (FAR RIGHT), FORMER LEAD SINGER FOR THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS, IS NOW A MAJOR WIRELESS ENTREPRENEUR





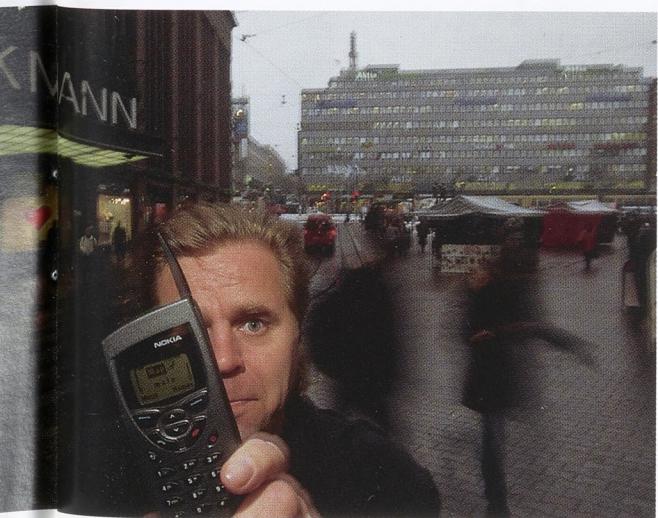
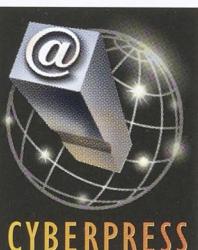
# CALLING UP FINLAND STATION

*The high-tech future is happening now in the Finns' 'mobile information society'*

By William J. Holstein

If you're worried that America Online's Steve Case or Microsoft's Bill Gates or AT&T's Mike Armstrong is going to dominate the digital future, pay a visit to Risto Linturi's home on a dirt road on the outskirts of Helsinki.

Linturi is one of the godfathers of Finland's communications explosion, and his sleek glass-and-wood house reflects that futuristic reality despite its remote location.





## NEW CONNECTIONS

"THE FINNS ARE SHOWING US THE WAY TO THE FUTURE," SAYS A SPRINT EXECUTIVE IN HELSINKI

About 100 computers in the basement control every aspect of lighting, heating, and ventilation, which are so important in a harsh climate. A large computer screen embedded in the wall near the family breakfast table boasts a blazing 2-megabit Internet connection. You can sit with the keyboard and surf the Net because the keyboard and computer are linked via a radio frequency. This particular portal to the world is located in the kitchen so that Linturi, his wife, and their two children can make the Net a family experience rather than something that's done alone and behind closed doors.

Linturi, once the principal researcher at Helsinki Telephone and now chairman of his own high-tech consulting firm, manages his professional life from a Nokia Communicator mobile telephone that can handle voice calls and Internet traffic as well as serve as a personal organizer. If he's out walking his Irish wolfhounds or is running late in traffic,

he can even use it to open his front door by calling a certain number. Another idea he's toying with is how to put a camera in his refrigerator so that, when he's away, he can use the Communicator to call the refrigerator and check whether he needs to buy milk.

Linturi's goal is to put all this computing and communications power in everyone's hands, not only in his native Finland but around the world. When people can use handheld devices as well as more conventional computers to organize their lives, he believes it will give individuals power on a scale that human society has never glimpsed. The power of both big companies and governments will be sharply curtailed. "The networked economy should mean the destruction of strong hierarchies," says Linturi, who speaks English in a slow, measured cadence. "This technology is for freedom of time and freedom of place. You should be able to work when you choose. If you are useful, you get paid. If you are not, you don't."

Finland may seem an unlikely place to sample the future. After all, it's better known for reindeer, vodka, and long Arctic nights than its cutting-edge gadgets.

But a full 67% of the population uses mobile phones, vs. only 28% in the U.S. Such extraordinary penetration—the highest in the world—has turned a nation of 5 million into a laboratory for the newest phones and services and the networks that allow them to function. Thanks in part to a national passion for staying connected across vast frozen distances, the Finns have created what they call a "mobile information society." Literacy is universal, and nearly everyone, it seems, can speak English.

Finland's emergence as a leader in the high-tech future has deep cultural roots. Finns long ago embraced the telephone as a means of keeping their hopes of independence alive in the face of overwhelming Russian power. The Russians controlled the telex lines; the Finns were allowed their phones. (Today, they boast more than 90 telecommunications companies.) The Finns, whose language and culture are virtually impenetrable to outsiders, are also fiercely individualistic and have never had an aristocracy or system of elites. The heroes

## THE GODFATHER

LINTURI (RIGHT) IS AMONG THE PIONEERS OF FINLAND'S HIGH-TECH REVOLUTION

*Finns embraced the phone and other technology as a means of keeping their hopes of independence alive in the face of Russian power*



## ARCTIC NIGHTS

FINNS LIKE TO STAY CONNECTED OVER THE COUNTRY'S VAST FROZEN DISTANCES

*"In the past, the phone was only for talking. But it's going to be much more than that. Our goal is to put everything on the phone"*



in Finnish culture are military officers who resisted the ill-conceived commands of their generals. Small wonder that it was a Finn, Linus Torvalds, who created the Linux computer operating system. This free, "open source" software aims to challenge Microsoft's proprietary grip. The Finnish conviction is that technology must be universal, affordable, and managed in a way that serves human needs without overwhelming people.

The Finns are creating a technological future that squares with those values. On buses and in the Helsinki train station, teenagers yammer away on their Nokia cell phones or punch out short text messages with their thumbs. The coolest of the cool type out their text messages with only one thumb. They personalize their phones by downloading dozens of different ringing tones (from *Finlandia* to *The Flintstones* theme) from the Web site of Sonera, the largest telecom service provider. For Finland's youth, the phone is as important a personal statement as the latest pair of designer cargo pants is

for American teenagers. Youngsters call their phones *kanny*, which means "extension of the hand." In the realm of grown-ups, hundreds of thousands of Finns conduct personal banking from their handheld phones, order gifts of chocolate for friends, and even shop for apartments to rent.

**T**he newest new thing is WAP, which stands for wireless application protocol. WAP is a standard hammered out by Nokia, Ericsson, Motorola, and Phone.com. It establishes the way Internet information is customized so that it can appear on the smaller screens available in handheld devices. WAP is what makes it possible to obtain access to the Internet from most anywhere.

One of the personalities leading the WAP charge is Mato Valtonen, an unlikely technology guru indeed. A former lead singer for the Leningrad Cowboys, Finland's most famous rock band, Valtonen spent 24 years touring the world. He gave

one of his most famous concerts in Berlin in the early '90s as Allied troops withdrew from the formerly divided city. On the road, he and other band members used their Nokia cell phones to call friends back home for hockey scores and Formula One racing results.

Building on that experience, Valtonen today has founded a company called Wapit, which takes advantage of the new WAP technology. Wapit advertisements blanket bus stops and other outdoor advertising space in downtown Helsinki. Subscribers to Wapit can get sports results displayed on the LCD screens of their phones and can see what's happening in museums and theaters, check the Top 10 music chart, even download the joke of the day. Demand for WAP phones is so hot that Nokia, the world's largest cell-phone maker, headquartered in a Helsinki suburb, can't keep up. "In the past, the phone was only for talking," says Valtonen. "But it's going to be much more than that. Our goal is to put everything on the phone." At least 200 services are



available to some mobile users, and the number is growing every day.

For U.S. companies, the lesson is that they can expect an explosion in demand for their products and services if they can replicate the Finnish mobile experience. "They're showing us the way to the future," says Andy Sukawaty, president of Sprint PCS in Kansas City, Mo. "Just about everything they have in Finland is on the agenda for us." Sprint already has 10 Internet phones on the U.S. market that will offer WAP services this year. AT&T Wireless, Bell Atlantic Mobile, and others are pushing a raft of telephone-based devices made by Nokia, Ericsson, Motorola, and Qual-

plex functions such as digital photography, full-screen video and music, and manipulating words and numbers. But almost every technology watcher believes that sales of easy-to-use "smart" devices and appliances will far outstrip PC sales in the not-too-distant future.

Whether they admit it or not, the companies making the next generation of devices are responding, at least in part, to Nokia's skill in making easy-to-use machines. Unfortunately, many designers and manufacturers of personal computers, telephones, and other gadgets know precious little about ergonomics and usability. For them, it's technology for technology's sake.



## TALK TO ME

THE FINNS HAVE MORE PHONES PER CAPITA THAN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

through to get on the Web. AOL, pursuing a strategy called "AOL Anywhere," is expected to begin offering an Internet-surfing device to new subscribers—free.

This incredible wave of new devices represent a new generation of wireless services, one that combines mobile telephony with the Internet. It has the potential to radically change the way people communicate—from keeping in touch with the office to watching over the children to dating. Few are suggesting that the PC—the product most threatened by the new gadgets—is going to disappear. The traditional desktop will survive for more com-

comm. America Online and Yahoo!, meanwhile, are vying to become the portals that millions of mobile users will go

How else to explain the mental gymnastics required just to program your video-cassette recorder?

Here again, the Finnish experience is helping to shape the debate. The Finns argue that users shouldn't notice the complexity of the process for computing and communicating. More raw power is coming, but it will be embedded in devices—in your garage-door opener or sprinkler system or furnace. Rather than deciphering bewildering instruction manuals, users

should be able to click on buttons to answer simple "Yes" or "No" questions. Nokia, for example, has developed a "roller key" that allows users to scroll quickly through menus of options. Larger display screens and longer battery life also are improving the usefulness of handheld gadgets. "We want to make the technology human and easy to use," says Yrjo Neuvo, Nokia's senior vice-president for product creation, who often rides his bicycle to

work with a Nokia phone attached to the handlebars. "The digital interaction should be natural."

**T**he devices also should communicate wirelessly. To allow that to happen, Nokia also has helped establish a standard called Bluetooth, named after a 9th century Danish Viking chief who unified warring clans. In this case, the Finns are working with Ericsson, Toshiba, IBM, and Intel, among others, to link devices with Bluetooth's radio signals. Right now, the most practical way to get different gadgets to communicate wirelessly is infrared, the same way a remote control engages with a television.

Ordinary remote controls have to be pointed directly at the infrared portal on the television set from just a few yards away or they don't work. But the Bluetooth signals will be able to reach any device within a 10-yard radius, and the gadgets won't have to be pointed directly at each other. When Bluetooth products start hitting the market next year, users will be able to get their Palm organizers, for example, to synchronize address listings with their personal computers or cell phones by simply having them in the same room. The devices will communicate silently and invisibly, without wires. Existing gadgets can be retrofitted with Bluetooth, but it's expected that new devices made with this technology will work more seamlessly.

The new open standards—WAP, Bluetooth, and others—mean that a sizable proportion of manufacturers now agree on how to make many wireless devices and get them to function together. Microsoft and Intel are busy carving out roles in mobile Internet access, but they will not be able to dominate the new devices as they do the PC. AT&T may be able to own lots of cables and phone lines, but how can it dominate a wireless world with hundreds of companies competing to offer the latest specialized service?

The networked society that the Finns have created up near the Arctic Circle has convinced America's tech giants that their huge investments in communications infrastructure and new gadgets will pay off. But it also offers lessons about how individuals and society as a whole can insist that technology be designed and used in a way that fits everyone's personal lifestyle—and squares with their national values as well.

*Holstein is a senior writer for U.S. News & World Report.*



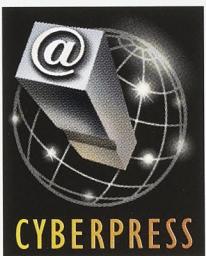
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# REFRESHER COURSES AVAILABLE IN ANY LANGUAGE.

# ALL EYES ON THE INTERNET

by Leslie Chang

*Despite China's crackdown on Falun Gong and other groups, the chief cheerleader for the country's online and information-technology revolution is the government itself. Free speech is the winner*



PHOTOILLUSTRATION BY AARON GOODMAN







**O**n July 22, 1999, China banned the spiritual group Falun Gong, whose tens of millions of members were said to outnumber the Communist Party's ranks. A major target in the ensuing crackdown: the Internet, through which the group communicated with followers in far-flung corners of China and abroad. The government shut down or blocked sites run by Falun Gong followers and closed the e-mail accounts of many adherents.

The same week, though, the flip side of the Chinese Internet was also on display. Shanghai, the country's commercial capital, hosted two Internet gatherings. One was a glittering affair at the Shangri-La Hotel organized by Chinadotcom Corp., whose shares had just successfully debuted on the Nasdaq stock exchange. The other was a gathering of entrepreneurs launching Internet startups. Meeting at a local watering hole called Zoobaa, they traded business cards and tips on attracting the millions beginning to flow into the sector. That same week, China's top appliance maker announced

a deal to allow Internet access through television sets. Netscape Communications of the U.S. launched a Chinese-language browser with an eye to the mainland market. And a top Chinese official was quoted saying Internet access fees should be lower to bring more people online.

The blizzard of contradictory impulses in that single week captures China's dual—and often dueling—approach to information technology and the Internet. The Net's association with free-flowing information and freewheeling debate is anathema to the Communist Party. Yet the Internet's force as a symbol of modernity, and its potential for driving business growth, drawing in foreign investment and revolutionizing the educational system all are highly valued by a reform-minded Chinese government. Late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's famous dictum about opening to the outside world—"If you open a window, fresh air can come in but also mosquitoes and flies"—applies perfectly to the Internet.

It's now clear that China has opened the window wide, with occasional efforts to swat the flies. While the odd crack-

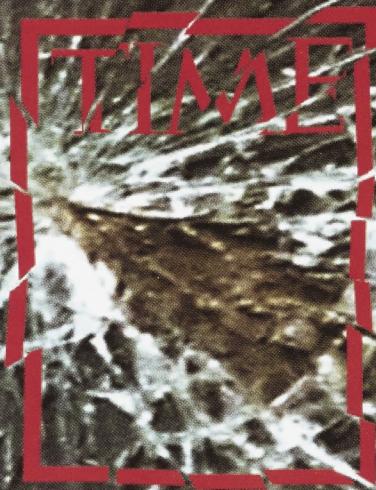
down on the Internet sector grabs headlines, on a broader level the government has clearly put its money on—and in—the Net. Beijing is spending billions of dollars a year to build and upgrade Internet infrastructure nationwide. State-run newspapers are tireless cheerleaders for the new medium, running regular features on what new technology to buy and where to go online. Beijing is pursuing a multitude of efforts to extend the Internet's reach, pushing everyone from college students to government ministries to get themselves online.

"Look at Chinese TV and newspapers: It's all Internet, all the time," says the operator of one Beijing site. "The Internet has too much momentum. The time to stop it would have been three years ago."

The government actually considered a clampdown four years ago. In 1996, some officials flirted with a plan to build a China-only intranet, a network with Chinese-

## KEEPING WATCH

CHINA'S MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY HAS A SQUAD OF SOPHISTICATED INTERNET COPS



Insightful war correspondents.

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## CLAMPING DOWN

ONE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST MOVES AGAINST FALUN GONG WAS TO CLOSE THE GROUP'S WEB SITES

*State-run newspapers are tireless cheerleaders for the new Internet medium, running regular features on what new technology to buy*



language content that would filter material from overseas. But the effort quietly died, while most of the companies originally slated to take part in the plan have moved on to commercial competition. Today, Chinadotcom, whose executives once extolled plans to take part in the sanitized network, runs a China portal that competes with hundreds of rival Web sites for attention. The state-run Internet service provider known as the "169" network, which was slated to run the internal China intranet, now competes in a crowded universe of ISPs.

Chinese officialdom and Internet companies have, however, reached an unspoken accommodation: The government will crack down during sensitive times, and companies will show their respect by toeing the line, much like an unruly child who nods obediently when reprimanded and reverts to form when the harried parent turns to something else. If companies and their Web sites don't draw undue attention to themselves by, say, advocating demonstrations for more democracy, the cops won't come calling. It's a modus vivendi that defines much of Chinese daily life in the age of reform.

On occasion, Beijing brings its full force to bear on the Internet, as it did with Falun Gong. The group's Net savvy had helped it mushroom in size while at the same time avoiding the scrutiny of the Communist Party. Group founder Li Hongzhi, who now lives in New York, had communicated with followers through a few primary Web sites. His closest disciples e-mailed messages to the Webmasters of those sites or posted messages directly on them, spreading Li's teachings—which combine traditional exercises with elements of Buddhism, Taoism, and Chinese mysticism—to the thousands of "tutors" who led local groups of followers.

**T**hen in April, 1999, Falun Gong stunned the government by assembling more than 10,000 followers outside Zhongnanhai, the country's leadership compound in Beijing, to demand official recognition of their group. In the months that followed, some sect members were arrested, and state-owned companies warned employees to steer clear of the group. Then in July, 1999, despite protests by the group that they represented no threat, the

government decided to crack down, arresting the group's most senior members and blanketing the country with anti-Falun Gong propaganda. They shut down Falun Gong Internet sites, blocking access to its servers and closing followers' e-mail accounts.

The government has the resources to do this when called upon. China's Public Security Ministry has a technically sophisticated squad of young engineers to serve as its Internet cops. They monitor traffic, occasionally block sites of sensitive organizations such as foreign media and human-rights groups,

and sometimes issue warnings to Internet companies. For example, in the run-up to Taiwan's presidential elections in March, 2000, some Web sites were given notice not to report on the event until two months afterward.

However, the government's effort to decontaminate the Net of democratic and dissident tendencies has had limited effect. Even Beijing's drive to wipe out Falun Gong has not entirely succeeded in either the real or virtual worlds. With thousands of members jailed since the group was banned, Falun Gong has lost its best organizers. But group adherents say they still communicate widely through e-mail to organize their activities. They also continue to defy the government with regular small-scale demonstrations that inevitably end in arrests and detentions.

Overall, the government's piecemeal efforts to quash unwelcome political views don't begin to approach a consistent or comprehensive monitoring of the Internet. While some security officials several years ago briefly considered installing the technology to monitor every e-mail going into and out of the country, they quickly concluded it would be a prohibitively time-

consuming and require great manpower at a time when China is shrinking its bureaucratic ranks.

In the meantime, savvy companies have learned to meet the government partway. Many employ their own monitors to keep an eye on chat-room discussions, sending out a warning when the topic is taboo or even closing down the accounts of frequent troublemakers. News stories that lead the pages of the biggest portals are usually bland fare from the state press, perhaps an official statement on Taiwan policy or the latest export figures. "The message is, no original content prominent on our front page, where most people go," explains the operator of one Web site. But that doesn't mean users can't access more controversial fare; media sites based in Hong Kong, the U.S., and elsewhere are only two clicks away.

Yet it's easy to make too much of the role the Internet plays in freedom of speech at this point, as many outside observers do. In Internet chat rooms, the talk is mostly inane gossip and bad pickup lines—a reflection of the mostly young and mostly male online population—all

though hot topics such as the NATO bombing of China's Belgrade embassy in May, 1999, or the latest financial scandal will set chat rooms abuzz. Users go online much more to get the latest news first than to lob bombs at the authorities. And while articles from the state-run press are prominent on the sites for political reasons, they are also there because it's cheaper and faster to run them than to build a reporting team from scratch.

**S**till, the Internet represents an information revolution for China. Articles posted on sites usually give readers an option to post a response—standard for the interactive nature of the Internet but contrary to the very idea of newspapers in China, which exist as propaganda organs for the state. Indeed, the explosion of Web sites is emboldening the traditional media to push for more leeway to counter the commercial threat they represent by improving their content. Moreover, newspapers are trying to build their own online operations, and many of their staff writers freelance for online sites, blurring

the lines between new and old media.

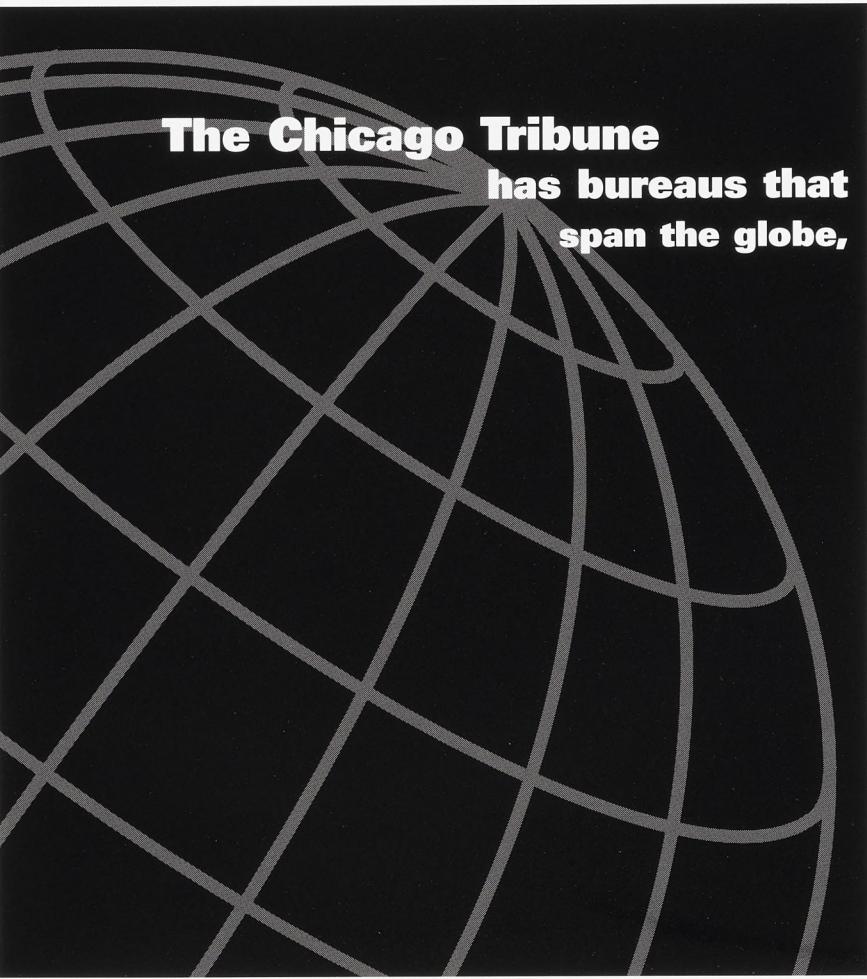
"Traditional media are asking, 'Why should we have our hands tied?'" says Anne Stevenson-Yang, head of Twin Poplars LLC, a Beijing-based publishing and Internet company. "It's not only cognitive dissonance in terms of ideology, it's also a competitive disadvantage for the traditional media."

The dramatic pace of change in the industry presages more bumpiness in the short term. Chinese officials are now writing laws governing various areas of the Internet, from content provision to online advertising. That has led to a raft of alarmist and overarching cries that censorship is in the air, as different government agencies seek to put their stamp on the sector.

But the fact is that the Chinese media are changing, and some of that change is a result of the Internet. The Internet will change China—is changing China—and it's largely because the government wants it that way.

---

*Chang is a Shanghai-based reporter for The Wall Street Journal.*



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~~WORLD CANNOT REST~~

~~WITH CENSORSHIP~~

~~IN ALL ITS FORMS~~

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# The Overseas Press Club of America ANNUAL AWARDS



*Rogova massacre victims: Reports of tragedy in Kosovo impressed the judges*

By William J. Holstein, Awards Chairman

ONE MIGHT ASSUME THAT THE CONFLICTS IN KOSOVO, Chechnya, and East Timor would have dominated the 1999 Overseas Press Club award competition. True, five of this year's winners among the 436 entries are being honored for their coverage of Kosovo. And Chechnya and East Timor were the datelines for one prize each.

But there was also some surprising variety. A weekly that's not a traditional competitor for awards in overseas reporting, the Village Voice, won for its coverage of AIDS in Africa. There were multiple winners from Asia, including the Edward R. Murrow award for the best television documentary, which was given for coverage of an economic issue, namely the gyrations of East Asia's financial markets. Other organizations took honors for radio commentary about Japan's economy and for a portrait

of Suharto's wealth. The Associated Press won for a gripping account of an event that occurred nearly 50 years ago: the slaying of Korean civilians by U.S. troops. Latin America boasted two winners, and prizes were awarded for coverage of the mergers transforming European economies, unwanted children in Russia, and the overall trend of globalization.

*The winners  
include coverage  
of Kosovo,  
Chechnya, and  
AIDS in Africa*

Our thanks to nearly 60 judges who spent hours reading, listening to, and viewing entries and then making tough judgments. Their work reflects the finest tradition of professionals coming together to define journalistic excellence. Our gratitude also to the sponsors who support these awards. The net result is that the Overseas Press Club is able to defend and promote the highest standards of international journalism.

## 1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

*Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad*

### DAVID FILIPOV

*The Boston Globe*  
"Chechnya"

In a series of vividly descriptive reports from Chechnya, David Filippov depicted the ambiguity of a war in which Russian troops fought Islamic militants, Russian bandits fought Russian soldiers, and Chechen gangs fought Russians. Russian jets, meanwhile, indiscriminately bombed and strafed Chechen civilians. Filippov was one of the first to reach the Chechen capital of Grozny and reported from this no-man's-land at considerable risk. He was also among a small group of journalists who were detained by Russian troops. His stories proved that the Russians suffered heavy losses despite official denials. And he raised the dark question of whether the Kremlin created the Chechen terrorist threat to enhance the image of presidential candidate Vladimir Putin.



#### CITATIONS: Sander Thoenes

*The Financial Times*  
For reporting from Indonesia and East Timor  
(Posthumous)

#### Paul Watson

*The Los Angeles Times*  
"Kosovo: A Witness to War"

## 2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

*Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs*

### MARK SCHOOPS

*The Village Voice*  
"AIDS: The Agony of Africa"

This remarkable eight-part series portrayed the devastation that AIDS has inflicted on nine African countries, killing 10 times as many people as Africa's genocidal wars. Mark Schoops spent six months reporting and showed how ineffective Western policies were. At the same time widespread denial by Africans of AIDS also sped its transmittal. He interviewed prostitutes, children, rural farmers, scientists, morticians, and rock stars. He combined dispassionate, relentless, street level reporting with lucid analysis to explain a crisis that is destroying the fabric of many African nations.



#### CITATIONS: Paul Salopek

*Chicago Tribune*  
"Reporting from the Front"

#### Nicholas D. Kristof, Sheryl WuDunn,

**David E. Sanger, Edward Wyatt**

*The New York Times*

"Asian Crisis"

## 3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

*Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise*

### JOHN STANMEYER

*SABA for Time*  
"The Killing of Bernardino Guterres in Dili, East Timor"



John Stanmeyer's work in East Timor epitomized the perfect combination of exceptional courage and photojournalistic skill in capturing a searing sequence of images as Indonesian police shot and killed a pro-independence supporter. Stanmeyer was at great risk as he photographed the incident, but followed it through to its tragic ending.

#### CITATION: Afrim Hajarulahu

*(Contact Press Images/U.S. News & World Report)*  
"Heartbreak in the Balkans"

## 4. THE OLIVIER REBBOH AWARD

*Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines and books*

### GILLES PERESS

*Gilles Peress/Magnum*  
for *The New Yorker*



Gilles Peress combined art and photojournalism in this visual essay on the Kosovar refugee crisis. His images are highly personal and speak metaphorically of the struggle that the displaced endured.

#### CITATION: Peter Turnley (Black Star/Newsweek)

"Fields of Sorrow: Kosovo 1999"

#### Alexandra Boulat

*Sipa Press for Time/National Geographic*  
"Kosovo: Shattered Lives"

## 5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

*Best photographic reporting from abroad in newspapers and wire services*

### YANNIS BEHRAKIS

*Reuters*  
"Kosovo 1999"



Kosovo was the most photographed story of the year, but the 10 images submitted by Yannis Behrakis stand out because of the simple, stark, and poetic way in which they tell a big story. With a face, a scream, a plea, a footprint, Behrakis helps us grasp a whole story in each compelling frame.

#### CITATIONS: Brennan Linsley (Associated Press)

"Sierra Leone Amputees"

#### Carol Guzy (The Washington Post)

"Abandoned in Kosovo"

## 6. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

*Best radio news or interpretation of foreign affairs*

### NPR NEWS

*National Public Radio*  
"Coverage of Kosovo"

NPR's extensive coverage of the war in Kosovo combined a wide variety of viewpoints with a tremendous amount of in-depth reporting. Some of this reporting was on difficult issues such as rape. Other segments vividly showed how the war affected women and children. The range of coverage was impressive and included some critical questioning of the bombing of the Chinese embassy, which Washington insisted was an accident.

**CITATION: The Staff of PRI's *The World***

*BBC World Service, Public Radio International,  
WGBH Radio*  
"Kosovo Coverage"

## 7. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

*Best TV spot news reporting from abroad*

**RON ALLEN, BOB FAW, MARTIN FLETCHER,  
DANA LEWIS, KERRY SANDERS**

*NBC Nightly News*  
"Crisis in Kosovo: The Last Week"



In eight hard-hitting reports from Kosovo after the bombing stopped and refugees started to come home, the Nightly News team presented an impressive breadth of coverage. The viewer could feel what it was like to be among the Marines landing on Greek beaches. Viewers also were offered compelling accounts of KLA soldiers being blocked by U.S. Marines, a woman describing how Serbs killed Albanians, and a woman living in a cave with a baby to survive. The stories added up to well-researched, well-produced television news.

**CITATIONS: Mark Litke, Katherine O'Hearn,  
Bruno Silvestri**

*ABC Weekend News*  
"Thailand AIDS Colony"

**Ted Koppel, Forrest Sawyer, Tom Bettag,  
Mark Nelson**

*ABC News—Nightline*  
"At the Brink—Downed Apache"

## 8. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

*Best TV interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs*

**SHERRY JONES  
DAVID FANNING  
MICHAEL SULLIVAN**

*Washington Media  
Associates for  
Frontline/WGBH Boston*  
"The Crash"



JONES



FANNING



SULLIVAN

This compelling account of euphoric rises in Asian financial markets followed by chaotic falls demonstrated the inherent risks of global financial markets. Using interviews with noted financiers and economists, and news clips from the days of crisis, the producers offer an informed account of the sudden and violent collapse of East Asian markets, and the impact this had on Russia and Brazil. The story questioned the role of the International Monetary Fund and U.S. government in deciding to prop up some economies, but not others. The producers also succeeded in giving the story a human face by showing the effects of the financial crisis on individual people in these countries.

**CITATIONS: Peter Jennings, Tom Yellin**

*ABC News Special*  
"The Century"

**Mike Sullivan, Ben Loeterman,  
Steve Bradshaw, Mike Robinson**  
*Frontline/WGBH Boston and BBC News*  
"The Triumph of Evil"

## 9. THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL

*Best magazine reporting from abroad*

**ROD NORDLAND**

*Newsweek*

"Daddy, They're Killing Us"



The war in Kosovo produced an avalanche of fine magazine reporting from the battlefield. But Rod Nordland's dramatic account of the massacre of Albanian families at Suva Reka in southern Kosovo stood out from the others. Nordland's initiative in locating surviving relatives and piecing together the horror of systemic brutality against their lost ones helped distinguish his work, and serve as an indisputable indictment of Serbian authorities.

**CITATION: William Finnegan**

*The New Yorker*  
"A Reporter at Large: The Invisible War"



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excellent products and services,  
a great one delivers excellent  
products and services  
and strives to make the world  
a better place.”

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**The Robert Capa Award**

**JOHN STANMEYER**

AMID A WHIRL OF VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR, INDONESIAN POLICE TURNED ON A PRO-INDEPENDENCE SUPPORTER, FORCING HIM TO FLEE. THEY BEAT HIM, GAVE PURSUIT, AND SHOT THE 25-YEAR-OLD MAN AT POINT-BLANK RANGE. HE WAS ARMED ONLY WITH ROCKS.





**The Olivier Rebott Award**

**GILLES PERESS**

REFUGEES POURED OUT OF KOSOVO TO NEIGHBORING ALBANIA AND MACEDONIA (ABOVE.) WHEN THEY RETURNED TO TOWNS AND VILLAGES SUCH AS DJAKOVICA AFTER FIGHTING CEASED, THEY DISCOVERED THEIR HOMES AND SHOPS HAD BEEN DESTROYED BEYOND RECOGNITION.





KOSOVAR REFUGEES  
FOUND THEY WERE  
NOT WANTED IN  
MACEDONIA. THIS  
GROUP WAS CONFINED  
FOR HOURS IN  
EXTREME HEAT.

A FAMILY PHOTOGRAPH  
ALBUM THAT ONCE  
BELONGED TO A  
KOSOVAR FAMILY WAS  
FOUND ABANDONED  
ALONG A ROAD



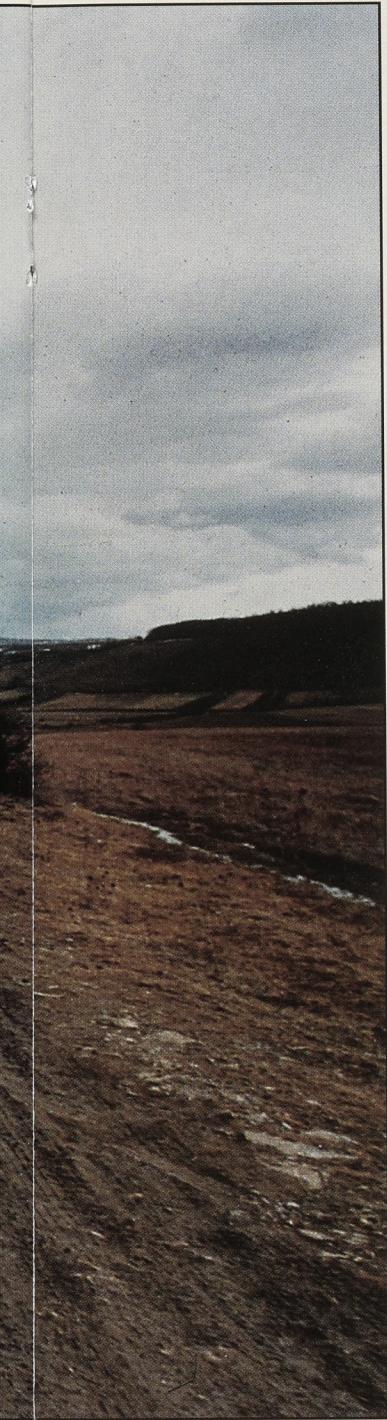
**The John Faber Award**

**YANNIS BEHRAKIS**

ETHNIC ALBANIAN CIVILIANS CLUNG PERILOUSLY TO PRIMITIVE TRACTORS—OR

ANYTHING ELSE THAT MOVED—to flee their villages in northern Kosovo. They were trying to escape heavy fighting between Serb forces and

KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY GUERRILLAS. THE FIGHTING COMPLETELY DISRUPTED FARMING ACTIVITY, AND FOOD SHORTAGES WERE OFTEN ACUTE.



A SERB PARAMILITARY  
OFFICER REMOVES AN  
AK-47 ASSAULT RIFLE  
FROM A SUSPECTED  
KLA GUERRILLA WHO  
HAD BEEN KILLED (ABOVE)

KOSOVAR REFUGEES  
STUCK IN A NO-MAN'S-  
LAND IN THE TOWN  
OF BLACE WERE  
DESPERATE FOR RED  
CROSS FOOD (BELOW)



## 10 THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on foreign affairs

## ROB ROGERS

*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*

With piercing wit and a powerful sense of the absurd, Rob Rogers gives readers a fresh perspective on world news. Never ponderous or didactic, Rogers finds hilarious incongruities in even the most serious foreign news events: for example, the mistaken bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade and the devastation in Chechnya portrayed in a game show hosted by Boris Yeltsin (both seen here). He also offers a wry take on the mixed blessings of globalization. In "The Great Mall," the Chinese wonder if the world has been transformed into a giant shopping opportunity, while Seattle's anti-WTO demonstrators are shocked to discover that their protest T-shirts are made in Indonesia. This enormously talented cartoonist offers a host of surprises.



## CITATIONS: Mike Peters

*Dayton Daily News***Robert Ariaial***The State*

## 11 THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines

## JOHN COLMEY

**DAVID LIEBOLD & TIME ASIA STAFF***Time Asia*"The Family Firm—  
Suharto Inc."

The product of a four-month investigation, this comprehensive 13-page cover story was a detailed portrayal of how Indonesia's former President and his family muscled into every level of the country's economy to build a fortune worth at least \$15 billion. The story of corruption under Suharto wasn't new, but the authors broke new ground with a wealth of detail and scrupulous documentation. Their most explosive allegation was that \$9 billion in family funds were transferred from Switzerland to an Austrian bank soon after Suharto resigned. The story prompted Suharto's protégé and successor, B.J. Habibie, to order his attorney general to investigate. Suharto sued *Time* for \$27 billion, charging defamation. After the attorney general called off the investigation, citing insufficient evidence, public outrage was so great that it helped defeat Habibie in last fall's election.

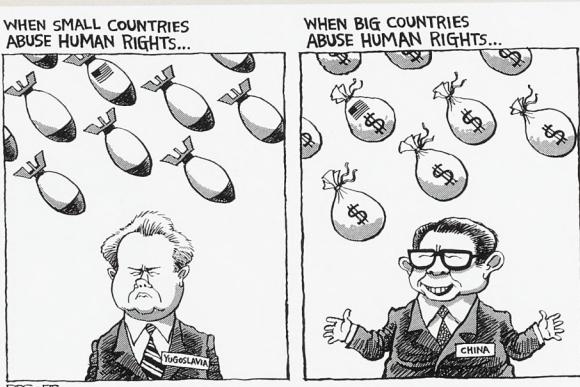


## CITATION: Bryan Burrough

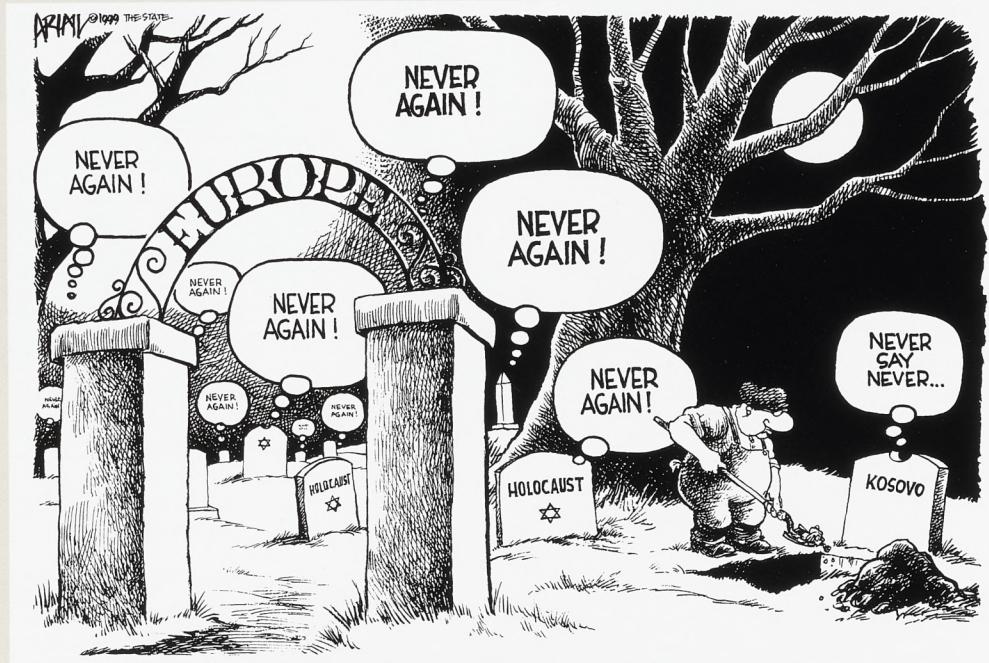
*Vanity Fair*

"Gucci and Goliath"





### **Citation winner Mike Peters**



### *Citation winner Robert Ariail*

## 12. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad  
in newspapers or wire services

### ANITA RAGHAVAN AND THE WALL STREET JOURNAL STAFF

*The Wall Street Journal*

"Remaking Europe's Business Landscape:  
The Mergers and Acquisitions Boom"

A wave of mergers and acquisitions began transforming Europe's corporate landscape in 1999, and *The Wall Street Journal* was in the forefront of covering those developments. Led by London-based Anita Raghavan, and aided by other correspondents in Europe and the U.S., the *Journal* broke story after story ahead of the competition. Ms. Raghavan and her colleagues consistently produced exclusive stories and well-written, well-researched background pieces that kept the paper's readers ahead of the news in this important region of the business world.



#### CITATION: Hannelore Suderman, Torsten Kjellstrand

*The Spokesman-Review*

"Far Afield: Following Eastern Washington Wheat Exports"

## 13. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in the broadcast media

### JOCELYN FORD J.J. YORE

*Marketplace Productions*

"Reports From a Tokyo Barstool"

The judges found Jocelyn Ford's work riveting and engagingly quirky. "It sounds a little like a *New Yorker* piece," said one judge. The reporter discovered unique bits of detail, reported them in a coherent package with a clear point of view, and successfully reflected larger problems in the Japanese economy.



FORD



YORE

#### CITATION: John Larson, Polly Powell, Neal Shapiro NBC—*Dateline*

"Around the World: Curitiba, Perfect City"

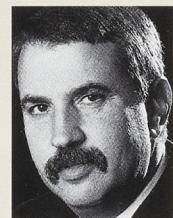
## 14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best nonfiction book on foreign affairs

### THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

*Farrar Straus and Giroux*

"The Lexus and the Olive Tree:  
Understanding Globalization"



Thomas Friedman's book is an ambitious work undertaken by an experienced correspondent. In a clear, comprehensive analysis of the post-cold-war universe, he argues that globalization has replaced geopolitics as the engine of world affairs. In his view, financial markets are now as important as politics, culture, and national security. Speaking from the juncture of economics and international affairs, Friedman describes the effects of globalization and the speeding of communication via the Internet, and argues that the most democratized countries will be the winners. Friedman is foreign affairs columnist for *The New York Times*.

#### CITATION: Mark Bowden

*Grove/Atlantic*

"Black Hawk Down"

## 15. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best international reporting in any medium  
showing a concern for the human condition

### SANG-HUN CHOE CHARLES J. HANLEY MARTHA MENDOZA RANDY HERSHAFT

*Associated Press*

"The Bridge at No  
Gun Ri"



CHOE



HANLEY



MENDOZA



HERSHAFT

This story represented tenacious reporting and sensitive writing on a difficult story that might have otherwise been lost in the mists of time. The reporters were Sang-hun Choe, Charles J. Hanley, and Martha Mendoza, and the researcher was Randy Herschaft. Their account of American troops killing Korean civilians almost 50 years ago exemplified the finest in dedicated and uncompromising journalism. The team did not stop at describing the events themselves but also explained their lasting impact on both sides of the Korean conflict.

#### CITATIONS: Tina Susman, Geoffrey Mohan

*Newsday*

"Children at War"

**Samantha Marshall**

*The Wall Street Journal*

"Vietnam's Bride"

## 16. THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

*Best international reporting in the broadcast media dealing with human rights*

### DIANE SAWYER, CATHERINE HARRINGTON

ABC News—20/20

“Unwanted Children of Russia”

In wrenching detail, Diane Sawyer and her team take viewers behind the walls of Russia's orphanages, focusing on children labeled as handicapped by a system that dooms them to lives of crippling neglect. Using hidden cameras when necessary and talking with some of the children and their overwhelmed caretakers, Sawyer offers a close-up view of the nightmare at work. We meet a young boy with club feet who has been left to waste in his cot. We go bed by bed through wards of children, emotionally famished, limbs and teeth rotting. We see how a child tagged as an “imbecile” can be sentenced to a lifetime of institutionalized deprivation. All in all, this was a devastating portrayal of the misery inflicted upon the most helpless members of Russian society.



SAWYER



HARRINGTON

### CITATION: Bob Simon and Randall Joyce

CBS News—60 Minutes II

“Shame of Srebrenica”

## 17. THE JOE AND LAURIE DINE AWARD

*Best international reporting in a print medium dealing with human rights*

### CHARLES MADIGAN COLIN McMAHON

*Chicago Tribune*

“Autopsy of a War Crime”

This exceptional three-part series by Madigan and McMahon explores the long-term outlook for justice in Kosovo's killing fields. It provides a moving and detailed account of the horror of one small town, Bela Crkva, where Serb police massacred 64 ethnic Albanian Kosovars. The in-depth reporting and eloquent writing provides an important contribution to public understanding of the human-rights dilemma that faces the Balkans.



MADIGAN



McMAHON

## 18. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

*Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues*

### DAVID TALBOT

*Boston Herald*

“Rain Forest Paying the Price of Oil”



To report this story, general assignment reporter Talbot persuaded his editors to let him go to Ecuador with photographer Justin Ide to report on the environmental and human price exacted by oil development. Texaco, which pulled out of the region in 1992, has denied charges it dumped toxic materials there. A class action is still pending on the issue, however, and attorneys in the Boston area are arguing that the case be heard in the U.S., where courts often favor plaintiffs in such matters. Talbot's three-story package discusses the suit, the pollution, and effects on the local Secoya Indian culture. Because of civil unrest in Ecuador at the time, Talbot had only three sleepless days to get the story. Despite the time and financial pressure (the paper covered only some of the expenses), the story was impressive in its accuracy and impact.

## 19. ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

*Best reporting in any medium on Latin America*

### SEBASTIAN ROTELLA

*Los Angeles Times*

“A New Breed of Justice:  
Latin America's Struggle for Reform”



In a brilliant series of articles, the author attacked an extremely difficult and important subject, namely the failure of the judicial systems in Latin America to mete out even-handed justice. The author argued that the need to improve the judiciary is probably the biggest story in Latin America today and helps explain why the region has lagged behind other parts of the world in some key respects. The author brought a potentially dry subject to life with vivid details of the conditions of jails, the performance of the police, and the failures of individual courts in Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil. He balanced his reports by describing some of the reform efforts that are under way.

### CITATIONS: John Otis

*Houston Chronicle*

“Death in a Hot Zone”

**Deepak Gopinath**

*Institutional Investor*

“The Man Who Broke Ecuador”



# The Award Sponsors & Judges

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Robert Dowling, *Business Week*; Bill Dowell, *Time*; Sam Summerlin, *The New York Times Syndicate* (retired)

## King Features Syndicate

### THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Robert Dowling, *Business Week*; Bill Dowell, *Time*; Sam Summerlin, *The New York Times Syndicate* (retired)

## Life

### THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Guy Cooper, *Newsweek*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; John Polich, *The New School*; Marcel Saba, SABA Photo Agency; Michele Stephenson, *Time*

## Newsweek

### THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Guy Cooper, *Newsweek*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; John Polich, *The New School*; Marcel Saba, SABA Photo Agency; Michele Stephenson, *Time*

## The Coca-Cola Company

### THE JOHN FABER AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Guy Cooper, *Newsweek*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; John Polich, *The New School*; Marcel Saba, SABA Photo Agency; Michele Stephenson, *Time*

## ABC

### THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Kerry Dolan, *Forbes*; Ron Scherer, *The Christian Science Monitor*; Nicholas Tatro, *Associated Press*

## Bell Atlantic

### THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Larry Smith, *Parade*; Lisa Essex, *Reuters TV*; Jeremy Schaap, *ESPN*; Lee Townsend, *CBS News* (retired)

## CBS

### THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Jacqueline Albert-Simon, *Politique Internationale*; Michael Elliott, *Newsweek International*; Josh Friedman, *Newsday*

## Lexis-Nexis

### THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Peter Arnett, *foreignTV.com*; Marcus Brauchli, *The Wall Street Journal*; Ed Jackson, *World Press Review*

## Newsday

### THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Alexis Gelber, *Newsweek International*; Mary Laurence Flynn, *NBC News*; James Impoco, *U.S. News & World Report*

## Merrill Lynch

### THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Larry Martz, *World Press Review* (retired); Steve Adler, *The Wall Street Journal*; Allan Dodds Frank, *CNNfn*; Barbara Rudolph, *Institutional Investor*

## Forbes Magazine

### THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Myron Kandel, *CNNfn*; Diedre Depke, *Newsweek.com*; Sarah Miller, *Energy Intelligence Group*

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### THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Alex Taylor, *Fortune*; Sylvia Nasar, author; Fred Vogelstein, *U.S. News & World Report*

## Carol Mann Agency

### THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Jane Ciabattari, *Parade*; Brendan Koerner, *U.S. News & World Report*; Robert Teitelman, *The Daily Deal*

## The Madeline Dane Ross Fund

### THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Robert Sullivan, journalist/professor; Pamela Howard, *Scripps Howard Foundation*; Steven Knowlton, *Hofstra University*; Sheri Prasso, *Business Week*; Christopher Wren, *The New York Times*

## The Estate of Eric and Amy Burger

### THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Pete Engardio, *Business Week*; Julie Dam, *People*; Margaret Farley, *Los Angeles Times*; Claudia Rosett, *The Wall Street Journal*

## Philip and Kim Dine

### THE JOE AND LAURIE DINE AWARD

Linda Fasulo, *NBC*; Edith Lederer, *Associated Press*

## AT&T

### THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Steven Ross, *Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism*; Kim Kastens, *Lamont Doherty Earth Observatory at Columbia University*; Emily Smith, journalist/author

## Robert Spiers Benjamin

### THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Jeremy Main, *Fortune* (retired); Kenneth Maxwell, *Council on Foreign Relations*; Aixa Pascual, *Time*; John Pearson, *Business Week*; Edward Schumacher, *The Wall Street Journal*

# Bloomberg News



**PROUD  
TO SUPPORT  
THE OVERSEAS  
PRESS CLUB**

ESSAY

# REPORTING TECH FROM INSIDE AOL'S WEB



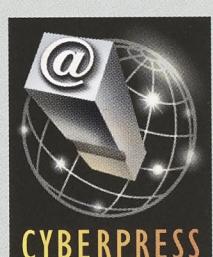
by David Kirkpatrick

Like the 70,000 other employees of Time Warner, I was stunned to learn early on Jan. 10 that America Online Inc., that upstart, was buying our venerable institution. Along with a dozen or so others at *Fortune*, I cover the technology industries. I've spent almost a decade writing about the spread of PCs, and now cell phones and the Internet. I've thought for years that I knew how the power unleashed by technology and the Net was likely to transform just about every aspect of our lives. Yet to see AOL, by all objective standards still a pretty small operating company, take over this colossus, the biggest media company in the world and my employer for 21 years—that I had not expected.

For me and the rest of my *Fortune* tech colleagues, this ownership change presents a new world of challenges to our journalistic ethics and objectivity. That's because to be an Internet company is not just to have a presence on the Web but to do business *in* a Web. AOL, like every major Web player, has an unbelievably complex network of overlapping, even semicontradictory, corporate relationships. It's a function in part of the speed with which change happens in the technology business. Deals get done, undone, and redone in a minute; every position is in some way hedged so one can adapt to the next unexpected change; and everybody is always talking to everybody else, either overtly or covertly. Now we at *Fortune* have to learn

to do journalism inside that Web. It takes the potential corporate conflicts we had before and multiplies them exponentially.

Just about every company I write about is either a partner or an enemy of AOL. That wasn't true in the past. Despite its



best efforts, Time Warner had failed to become a significant Internet force. That was the main reason CEO Gerald Levin felt compelled to sell out to a better-positioned player. AOL, on the other hand, is seen in the Internet industry as more and more overweening. It has almost become the new Microsoft—the company many smaller outfits are afraid of, and that they most often feel to be unfairly throwing its weight around. It has even thwarted Microsoft's efforts to connect its instant messaging customers

## HIGH FIVES

LEVIN AND AOL'S STEVE CASE AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE ANNOUNCING THE MERGER

with those of AOL. If the Time Warner deal is approved by shareholders and the government, I become a part of—and in the view of some, a representative of—that company.

No matter how honorably I conduct myself, how will these perceptions affect the way subjects and interviewees react to me? The answer is murky, but I can't say I'm sanguine. The same week the deal was announced, Microsoft's new CEO, Steve Ballmer, someone I've been interviewing for years, greeted me by saying, in a wise-ass voice, "So how does it feel to be an AOL employee?" He considers AOL one of his company's top adversaries.

Despite these concerns, I'm not much worried about concrete compromises of my journalistic independence. *Fortune* has a stellar record of telling it like it is. We've confronted the challenges of covering our company before and generally acquitted ourselves admirably. When this deal happened, *Fortune* produced a detailed package about the merger and AOL's growing competition with Microsoft. Managing Editor John Huey and *Time* Editor-in-Chief Norman Pearlstine bluntly declared our objectivity in an editor's note: "Can we really play it straight and avoid carrying water for our corporate owners? The simple answer is that we have, and we will."

That's sincerely said, and generally true about *Fortune*. But corporate pressures have already come to bear elsewhere in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. I was distressed to learn that in some sectors of Time Warner, journalists have been chastised by managers for calling the deal not

a merger but an acquisition of Time Warner by AOL. Yet by my standards, that's what it is. AOL will control 55% of the new entity, which is to be called AOL Time Warner. At the celebratory press conference the morning the deal was announced, the AOL guys seemed to have bigger smiles on their faces than did our executives.

Huey and Pearlstine also wrote that if *Fortune* started serving its owners and not readers, I and the other writers of the package would "walk out the door to the next job, and post the truth somewhere on the Internet that afternoon." I'm glad they think so, but it may not be so simple. The real risks aren't the bald suppression or distortion of obvious truths. Time Inc. is peopled by the best in the business, but they are people. Carol Loomis, *Fortune*'s most esteemed and longest-serving writer, who wrote a scathing financial critique of the deal in the magazine, nonetheless told *Fortune*'s assembled staff on the day of the deal that she worried the greatest journalistic risk going forward would be self-censorship.

I can certainly see how bias might color my thinking. For instance, a substantial portion of my net worth will be in AOL stock from profit sharing and matching grants I've received over the years. But under the rules of our 401(k) program, I can't sell those shares. I've always scrupulously avoided owning stock in companies I might cover, not because I thought I'd be swayed consciously to tout my holdings but because I feared I couldn't predict the impact of my subconscious.

Frankly, another obvious risk is that we will overcriticize our corporate parents just to prove we aren't carrying water for them. I've seen that happen when *Fortune* wrote about Time Inc. and Time Warner. Nobody ever finds a perfect balance.

All this said, I'm hugely proud to be working in business journalism, and at what I consider the finest magazine of its type. In my opinion, over the past few decades it has been easier to get a clear-eyed view of the social and economic forces at play in the world by reading the

business, as opposed to the general, press. You could say it's because of the unique role we play as a source of actionable information for readers. For businesspeople, accurate information is a matter of survival. They read the press, therefore, with an unusual pragmatic avidity and absence of sentimentality. For instance, though we haven't always used the term, *Fortune*, *Business Week*, and *The Wall Street Journal* have consistently addressed one of the dominant facts of our culture—consumerism. I'd go even further and say that unless you read the business press, you will fail to appreciate the extent of the ongoing domination of public life by corporate values.

Now technology's pervasiveness has made business cool. As more eyes focus on business, especially as the Net (and its investment ramifications) captures the world's imagination, it's becoming more of a truism that we live in a business-dominated culture. Everybody is in business now, unapologetically, as beermakers sponsor rock band tours, children view commercials in the classroom, and every hairdresser and taxi driver is an investing genius. The opportunities for business journalism, if it can stay objective, are staggering.

You don't have to work at AOL to live inside a Web of increasingly complex forces. In the age of Matt Drudge, it isn't even clear who is a journalist anymore. It also isn't nearly so clear as it once was how much credibility our institutional affiliation affords us, even one so widely revered as *Fortune*. This is an amazingly skeptical world. We journalists have helped convince our readers, correctly, that many of the once-hallowed institutions they used to trust—the Presidency, the police, the military, educational institutions, the medical profession, and even the press—can be as flawed as the people who work in them. So each of us has to continually and individually demonstrate that we deserve to be listened to, and trusted. It isn't getting any easier.

Kirkpatrick is Senior Editor, Internet & Technology at *Fortune*.

**GEAR HEAD**

AN ONLINE REPORTER  
FOR GERMANY'S CHIP  
MAGAZINE SCOOTS  
AMONG SOURCES  
AT A HANOVER  
TRADE FAIR



*Not since the telegraph has a new technology so radically changed the way journalists write, edit, and publish the news as the Internet*

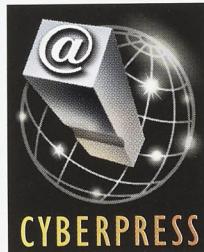
# TOOLS OF THE TRADE

By Dr. John V. Pavlik



I'm writing this article on my Palm handheld computer, which I've inserted into my Stowaway, a full-size keyboard that collapses like an accordion to fit into a pouch about the size of my Palm, which is itself about the size of a wallet. Once I've finished writing this article in the Palm "memo" pad, I'll simply "synchronize" with my office computer, perhaps beam it to another device (a printer, for example), or e-mail it to the publishers of this magazine, who are half a world away, since I am traveling in Japan. In fact, I can e-mail it directly to them using a wireless modem attached to my Palm.

In journalism, some things should never change: the need to ask tough questions, report impartially, rigorously fact-check, and adhere to the highest ethical standards. But some things are changing so rapidly they make older journalists' heads ache. Chief among them are the tools of the modern journalist. In today's e-world, the devices that assist in news gathering, transmitting, writing, and editing of stories are changing in dramatic ways.



Calling up your sources and reading over your clips isn't enough any more, not when your competition, if he or she is Net savvy, can find a mountain of information by using search engines and browsers to gain access to news databases, chat rooms, listserves, Usenet newsgroups, telnet applications, and file-transfer protocols.

In 1965, Gordon Moore, former chairman of Intel, the world's largest manufacturer of computer chips, offered his now famous observation that the number of transistors that can be placed on a single microchip doubles every 18 months. Now known as Moore's Law, his projection has proved true. The mainframe computer of the 1950s that used to fill an entire room had less processing power than a \$2 calculator you can slip into your pocket today. Accordingly, journalists have migrated from minicomputers to desktop PCs to laptops to handheld devices

## YOU'VE GOT NEWS

THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION IS IN FULL SWING AT MSNBC'S FORT LEE (N.J.) STUDIOS

like the Palm, which is, in effect, a fully functional computer.

Just as we have witnessed a dramatic improvement in the processing power of modern computers, today's digital devices come with vastly greater storage capacity, which is often necessary to handle some of the large, high-resolution image and audio files that are being created. Fortunately, the cost of storage has fallen so dramatically in recent years that some online services now provide 50 megabits of storage to any user—for free. Powerful portable storage devices such as the Iomega Jaz 2-gigabyte drive are increasingly common as well.

Journalists of the next generation will rely increasingly on wearable computer devices. These are likely to involve instruments no bigger than a pager is today and will clip to your belt. You'll be able to enter data either by voice recognition or a handheld "keyboard." Futurist Ray Kurzweil, one of the pioneers of speech recognition, forecasts in his 1999 book *The Age of Spiritual Machines*, that in less than 20 years computer processing power will far exceed that of humans, and will have been so miniaturized that microchips could be biologically inserted into people's brains, giving them access to vast repositories of knowledge and internal computing power. Is this part of the fu-

## ON THE BEAM

AN AP TV PRODUCER CHECKS A SATELLITE FEED OUTSIDE A HOTEL IN THE FORMER ZAIRE



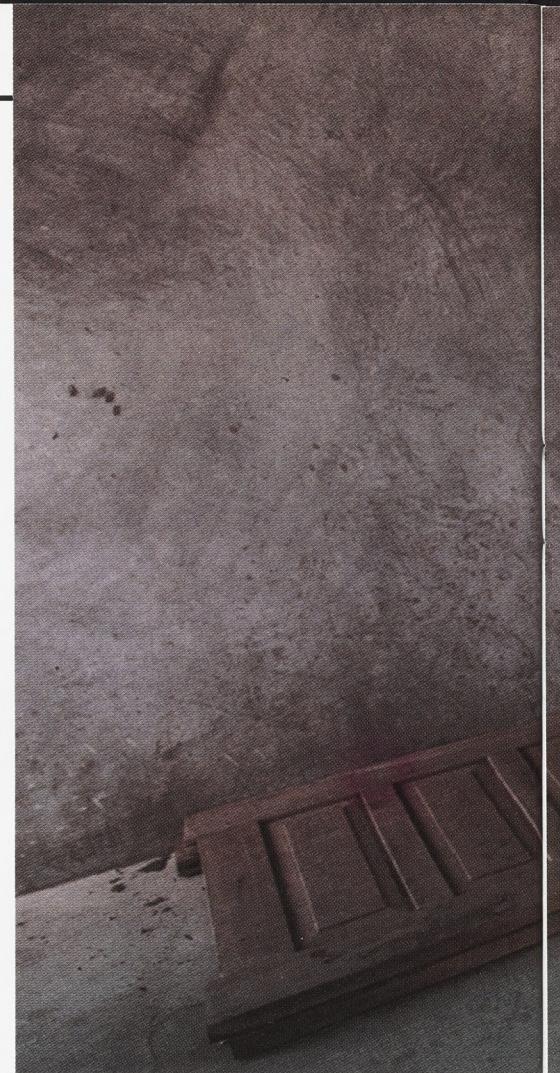
PHOTOGRAPH BY ALISTAIR LYNE / AP

ture of journalism in the 21st century? It's not as far-fetched as it may seem. Microchip technology is already being used to aid the blind and the hearing-impaired.

**A** variety of new processing and production tools are already available and widely used by journalists, not only in central newsrooms but in the field. Among the most common and important are: tools for editing hypertext markup language, or html, such as Allaire Homesite; Web site design and production, such as Macromedia Dreamweaver, and related tools for working with dynamic or d-html. Other important tools are used to edit digital video. Expensive high-end professional hardware-based systems such as Avid are rapidly being replaced by simpler, far less expensive software-based systems such as Adobe Premier (with versions that run on Apple Macintosh, Windows, Unix/Linux operating systems), or Final Cut Pro, which runs on a Power Mac G4. Equipped with FireWire with 400 mbps transfer capability, this option offers broadcast-quality post-production capability.

Similar tools are available for editing digital still images. Popular packages for still image processing include Adobe Photoshop. Experiments have also demonstrated the compatibility of image processing on a Palm. Graphics packages include Adobe Illustrator. Audio production tools include Digidesign Protools. On a more experimental level, software tools for creating professional 3D images and graphics are now available.

Where once only possible on costly



and complex high-end Silicon Graphics workstations, high-quality consumer-friendly 3D imaging programs are available from companies such as Metacreations, whose Canoma program has been used by CBS News to produce useful three-dimensional views of a variety of objects, such as sculptures in an art report or an artifact described in an archeological report. Using MetaStream, these 3D objects can be easily streamed to a viewer accessing the Web site using a 28.8 modem.

Tools for creating Web-based animation are also increasingly simple to use and are effective in reporting a variety of news stories. Java, Flash, and other tools have been used by reporters at news organizations from CNN to *The New York Times*.

Even mundane applications such as word-processing and spreadsheet programs, extensively used in computer-assisted reporting, are being transformed. Today's state-of-the-art tools can maintain detailed records of every change made to a document, enabling reporters and editors to retrace the evolution of a document, a process sometimes useful in fact-checking.

Perhaps no part of modern journalism has been more visibly transformed than the way news is distributed or published. The rise of the Internet and its World Wide Web in the 1990s brought news online, on demand, and onto a global stage



## TAP, SWEAT

REPORTER DAN BUETTNER AT WORK IN A STOREROOM IN TANZANIA

nalists today. Electronic mail is used not just for communication but as a means of interviewing sources, gathering and confirming facts, and downloading charts and tables.

Increasingly sophisticated journalists prefer to have their e-mail reside on the "server" (the computer that routes incoming and outgoing data traffic) using a technical protocol called "imap," which keeps the mail on the server but permits the user to

as never before. With more than 5,000 newspapers, television, and news operations, magazines and Internet-original news services (including many "Webzines") available for free to anyone with a computer and access to the Internet, journalism from all parts of the world has become universally available.

**W**hereas Johannes Gutenberg's printing press provided the catalyst for mass literacy, the Internet has turned journalist A.J. Liebling's observation—that freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one—on its head. Today, the Internet makes it possible for virtually anyone to own a digital printing press capable of reaching a worldwide audience. The cost of the cheapest Internet server has now fallen to less than a dollar, and with many Internet service providers offering free hookups, it doesn't take an accountant to understand why millions of people around the world have created their own personal Web pages—many of them, such as cybergossip Matt Drudge, publishing their own version of "news."

The Internet continues to evolve, of course. Some of the most important recent developments have dramatic implications for journalists and journalism. The

delivery of audio and video on demand—"streaming" in Internet parlance—has made it possible for virtually anyone to launch their own radio or television station, with or without news. The growth of "broadband" (i.e., high-speed Internet) services, telecommunications services via cable modems, digital subscriber lines, direct broadcast satellite, and various terrestrial wireless technologies, promises to bring even more change to journalism in the next decade and beyond.

Dial-up modems with speeds as slow as 28.8 kilobits per second or 56 kbps are rapidly being replaced by 300 kbps services—or even faster T1 or Ethernet services. These broadband services make delivering broadcast-quality video or audio on demand via the Internet increasingly common. Real Media Player G2, Windows Media Player, Digital Bitcasting, or Pixelon can now deliver full-screen, 24 frames per second (or better), VCR-quality video on demand to Internet users with a broadband connection. The technology for delivering high-quality audio is also available, including the WinAmp player, which can deliver near-CD-quality audio.

Other network technologies are also transforming journalism. File transfer protocol (FTP) is used to move large files, such as images or video, easily across the Internet, and is extensively used by jour-

nalists today. Electronic mail is used not just for communication but as a means of interviewing sources, gathering and confirming facts, and downloading charts and tables.

Increasingly sophisticated journalists prefer to have their e-mail reside on the "server" (the computer that routes incoming and outgoing data traffic) using a technical protocol called "imap," which keeps the mail on the server but permits the user to download mail from any computer anywhere in the world, as long as it is equipped with a Web browser. Thus, a journalist on the road can still access his or her e-mail and remain in continuous communication with other reporters, editors, sources, and the like.

A variety of related tools are enabling journalists to create virtual newsrooms that they can access from any place at any time, and thus have full access to all their work. For example, a Palm can be synchronized to either a desktop or a network, including the Internet, making it possible to have one's address book, schedule and e-mail all accessible from either the Palm or from any device with Internet access. Using Avantgo.com, synchronizing when connected to the Internet enables the Palm to download information from virtually any Web site for later reading. The Visor, which also runs the Palm operating system, has a growing number of plug-ins, enabling a wide range of additional functions.

Journalists increasingly participate in online discussion forums known as listserves and bulletin boards, which typically deal with specialized topics of any and all types. Reporters frequently find not only story ideas on such forums but also sources and leads. One popular online forum, [egroups.com](http://egroups.com), not only hosts thread-

ed discussions and listserves (where members receive via e-mail, with a copy of each message posted to the group), but also automatically builds a searchable Web site of the entire history of the forum, and permits members to upload files into an archive known as the "vault," as well as providing folders of links to other relevant Web sites.

**P**oised to transform journalism even further is the beginning of digital broadcasting, both audio and video. Direct broadcast satellite has demonstrated the potential of digital broadcasting, and as other satellite systems for digital radio broadcasting and terrestrial digital broadcasting of video roll out over the next half dozen years (under the direction of the Federal Communications Commission), these services will enable vastly personalized, on-demand news and entertainment services in audio and video to greatly expand the specialization and possibly localization of news and information. And that does not even touch on the potential in marketing and e-commerce.



For journalism, function has often followed form. Julius Caesar's *Acta Diurna* in 54 A.D. was possible only thanks to the existence of parchment. The earliest newspapers, which were published in the 1600s, were possible only because of the invention of both paper and the printing press. Real-time news over great distances became possible only in the 19th century

with the invention of the electric telegraph. Broadcasting of first audio and then motion-picture news reports developed only in the first half of the 20th century.

### CELL GAME

REPORTERS OUTSIDE  
THE HOUSE OF  
ADMITTED KGB SPY  
MELITA NORWOOD



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THE WORLD FOR QUALITY  
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The Internet today represents a reinvention of how news is accessed, displayed, and presented to an increasingly global public. Through the World Wide Web not only can news be presented in text, audio, or video format, but interactively as well. News is also being increasingly delivered to a variety of portable devices continuously connected through wireless communications to the Internet. Internet cell phones, pagers, and other devices now provide everything from breaking news to stock alerts and sports scores. CNN is now experimenting with the delivery of video news to cell-phone displays.

Display, access, and presentation technology is continuing to evolve. By the end of the next decade or two, the media of news delivery may have as little in common with the media of today as modern media do with the town crier. Many of today's Internet users get much of their information delivered via a cathode ray tube, the same basic technology as in a television set. But the flat-panel display is already familiar to anyone with a laptop computer, a Palm device, or a cell phone.

Already available in prototype form,

something called "E-ink" promises to bring even more change to news display devices. E-ink, or electronic ink, is essentially a virtual replacement for traditional printing paper. It is a computerized laminated paper product that can display information-text and in the future perhaps images—with the resolution of ink on paper. Rather than throwing it away at the end of the day, the user recycles it. In many ways, it promises to be a viable electronic medium for the daily newspaper—and is environmentally much friendlier than today's newspapers.

**S**peech synthesis and recognition are also poised to transform journalism. AnaNova, a Max Headroom-like Internet personality in Britain, already delivers personalized news as a "virtual anchor." More seriously, speech synthesis tools are already widely used by the visually impaired to listen to computerized readings of virtually any news text. Increasingly sophisticated speech-recognition tools are also being used by video indexing services such as Virage to automatically classify video news.

Do all these new digital tools mean better journalism? No, not by themselves. The quality of the journalism still depends on the standards and practices of the journalists and journalism organizations who use them. Adherence to ethical standards, and all other traditional principles of sound reporting, still remain. What these tools do allow is news that can be placed in greater context, with more depth, and with a greater blend of multiple media, interactivity, and customization. They also enable even greater speed—though sometimes at a loss of accuracy and with threats to privacy, copyright, and security. Witness the recent spate of hacker attacks on various news and other Web sites. How each journalist and news organization strikes a balance between the benefits and the costs of digital technology will determine whether journalism in the 21st century thrives as a credible and reliable source of knowledge for democratic society.

---

*Paylik is a professor and executive director of the Center for New Media at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.*

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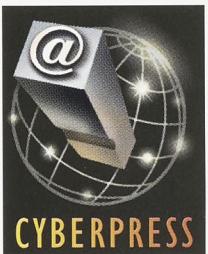


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# THE NET NEVER SLEEPS



By Matthew McAllester

*In an age of laptops and satellite phones, there is no excuse for not filing, though it may help to have an old tractor battery at hand*





**S**ure, we had just walked all through the moonless night over the Mountains of the Damned, through Serb lines, and into Kosovo with a well-armed team of Kosovo Liberation Army soldiers. And O.K., we had just taken a stroll around a completely destroyed Albanian village. We had a great story. But how on earth, sheltering in a forest in a Kosovo that had just been torched by a retreating Serb army, were we going to transmit the story and photographs? Not only was our location remote from civilization, but my batteries were out.

Sitting in his branches-and-plastic tent on the side of the mountain, our dreadlocked KLA commander had the answer. "No problem. We have many batteries from the tractors," he said, referring to the dozens of abandoned red tractors that had

I started to juggle the two with the one available source of power from the tractor battery. I was more exhausted than I had ever been in my life, and deadline was looming in New York.

I wrote my story on the plugged-in laptop, then shut the computer down to charge up the satellite phone for a while. And then the test. Attaching the cable that runs between the phone and computer, I unplugged the sat phone and returned the laptop to the tractor battery. And then I dialed an America Online number in New York.

"You've got mail," the electronic voice told me, after a few agonizing minutes spent locating a satellite in the sky above Kosovo and waiting for a full connection to AOL in the States. Quickly, I e-mailed off my story and prayed it wouldn't get derailed on its way skyward by a passing NATO jet.



been left by fleeing refugees in the fields around us.

I had come prepared for the car battery option by packing leads for my laptop and satellite phone that ended with the kind of plugs that fit into the cigarette lighters in cars. These slotted into a three-way adapter that in turn led to crocodile clips. I sat in a tent that smelled of wet teenage soldiers and sheep, pieced it all together, and clamped the clips onto the poles of the tractor battery. Unfortunately, two of the three-way adapter sockets didn't provide a connection.

So, with a satellite phone whose battery was only intended to have a short life and a laptop whose battery was faulty and lasted 5 or 10 minutes at best without power,

### IN THE THICK OF IT

AN ALBANIAN FUNERAL IN KOSOVO AND SERB POLICE ON GUARD. ONE WOMAN ASKED IF SHE COULD CALL HER DAUGHTER ON THE AUTHOR'S SAT PHONE

Remarkably, my friend Julian Simmonds, a photographer for *The Sunday Telegraph*, managed to use the same set-up—albeit with a longer battery life on his own laptop—to send several photographs while sitting next to a stream and shooing away wandering Kosovar sheep.

At times like these, the war in Kosovo had come to seem less like a fight pitch-



## READY TO MUSH

McALLESTER (RIGHT), SAT PHONE ON HIS BACK, AND NEWSDAY'S VIOREL FLORESCU CROSS THE MOUNTAIN OF THE DAMNED

ing the KLA and its NATO allies against the Serbs and more like a struggle between journalists and technology.

With the advent of the Internet, laptops, and satellite phones, foreign correspondents working even in the most primitive conditions have been stripped of excuses for not filing. You can't get away anymore with sending the kinds of amusing cables that William Boot transmitted from Ishmaelia in Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*: "NO NEWS AT PRESENT... RAINING HARD HOPE ALL WELL ENGLAND WILL CABLE AGAIN IF ANY NEWS."

The war in Kosovo last year was a good example of the new regime of ubiquitous electronic filing. It was a tyranny or a liberation, depending on your circumstances. Because if you do happen to be in a hotel with a good phone connection or you're near an Internet café, then the Net is the antithesis of the telex machines that feature prominently in the fond reminiscences of an earlier generation of foreign correspondents but seem like Heath Robinson contraptions to the new guard. The Net is simple, practical, and designed to make your life easy and your copy readily moveable.

Michael Slackman, *Newsday*'s Moscow correspondent, was in Paris just a few blocks away from the tunnel where Princess Diana suffered her fatal crash. But he was on vacation and didn't have his laptop. It didn't matter. He happily filed from Internet cafés in the following days. On the other hand, the Internet has raised the expectations of foreign editors the world over. If you're stuck in the jungle deprived of sleep or excuses for not filing, the Internet becomes an unforgiving martinet that is only satisfied when the story is sent. The trick now is to realize that there are no longer any excuses and to plan ahead.

It's not always so simple, though. When the war in Kosovo began in March, 1999, I was without the right equipment and had to file the old-fashioned way: dictation. After a long day of driving and standing in the freezing cold talking to people who have just been through the most traumatic experiences of their lives, it's not much fun repeating the spelling of, say, "Djukanovic" five times in an hour on an expensive phone line with an appalling echo while a tired copy-taker sits at her desk in Long Island trying to take it all down. But then I stumbled across an oasis of technology.

As if in anticipation of the army of journalists who would soon arrive in the Montenegrin capital of Podgorica, the anti-Belgrade government there had set

up a room full of new computers with free, relatively high-speed, 24-hour access to the Internet. It was a short walk from the hotel, across a bridge that straddled a beautiful emerald-colored river, and it couldn't have been easier. This was the drill: Write in your room, put the story on a floppy, cross the river, put the floppy into a computer in the press center, use any Web-based e-mail service like Hotmail or AOL Netmail (if you have an account) or Yahoo! mail, cut and paste the text, and hit "send." Remove disk, walk back across the river, order a platter of fried chicken and a bottle of indelicate Montenegrin wine, sleep.

As Podgorica filled up with journalists, a few of those unused to traveling overseas had to learn about the Web-based e-mail services, but pretty soon most were whipping their copy off and dropping e-mails to their friends and grandparents in London and New York. Photographers, too, showed up in the place, taking a lot longer to transmit their photographs because of the much greater amount of data contained in a digitized image than in 1,000 words.

This ease of transmission is becoming the norm throughout the world, as the Internet appears in the most unlikely places. Even in countries where the Net is banned or restricted, it's not hard to find connections. Tehran is full of Internet cafés. And in Burma, a country whose military junta strictly outlaws the Internet, two years ago I came across people who had hidden connections in their homes and businesses.

Even without public places of access, journalists can use phone adapters or regular lines to dial Compuserve, AOL, or another service from most countries in the world. But it's in the more remote locales, where phone service comes in antediluvian forms, or not at all, that satellite phones are essential.

At the early stage of the war in Kosovo, I was without a sat phone. Beyond the call of collegial duty and friendship, Blaine Harden from *The New York Times* carried a clunky *Newsday* sat phone for me all the way from New York. Now I could file from my room, if necessary. Or anywhere that offered a source of power.

In the third week of the war, I crossed over into Kosovo for the first time. Neither I nor my two friends from *The Daily Telegraph* intended to file from inside the KLA enclave we were going to visit, but I took my sat phone so that we could let our desks know we were all right.

During the war, the KLA used sat phones as their main means of commun-

nicipating with units still inside Kosovo. On this first trip I was impressed to find a sat phone with a local commander who was sitting in the living room of a house that had already been shelled and would two days later be burned by Serbs. I asked if he could call his commander deeper inside Kosovo to see what was going on there. No, this would not be possible, he said. Why not? I asked. We have lost the PIN number, he explained, a little sheepishly.

Later in the war, however, I did manage to take advantage of one of the KLA's working sat phones. From my hotel room in Rome, where I was taking a break, I called a senior commander who, rather miraculously, still controlled a region of Kosovo.

**B**y the time of my second trip into Kosovo, this time to visit Albanians still inside the war zone, *Newsday* photographer Viorel Florescu had arrived in Podgorica with a huge supply of communications gadgets. On this trip, we took only the handheld Iridium sat phone he had brought.

News of technological developments spreads fast: One of the first things that an old Albanian woman asked us when we arrived in her shepherd's hut up in the snowy mountains in western Kosovo on that trip was: "Do you have a satellite phone? Can I call my daughter in Switzerland?" The next day, I stood with her as she spoke to her daughter. It was to be the last time they spoke. Ten days later, the Serbs came and burned down the hut, shooting the old woman in the back as she ran for the trees.

As the war was winding up, my two *Sunday Telegraph* friends and I crossed into Kosovo for the third and final time, carrying all our very heavy hardware with us in bags that we strapped to the KLA's pack horses. It was on this trip that the dreadlocked KLA commander lent us his battery.

In devastated Kosovo, the sat phone and laptop combination was essential. Even weeks after the war, when I returned for a final three-week visit, land lines were nonexistent in Pec, where I was based. By this stage, I had a digital camera and was able to send photographs

with my stories from the apartment I had rented. But on a sat phone, it can take an hour to send a single image and with the phone starting to overheat and cut out, it was an infuriating business.

**T**echnology companies are promising to make all such problems go away. Life, they say, will be easier for people like foreign correspondents who have to send information from all over the world. Sat phones are shrinking in size and pretty soon, with any luck, they will be rendered obsolete by global cellular and satellite phone systems and devices that combine the powers of a laptop and a telephone, providing satellite connections to the Internet and the phone system wherever you are on the globe. At that point, unless the guerrilla group you happen to be sheltering with has run out of tractor batteries, there really will be no excuse for not filing.

---

McAllester is now a correspondent in Jerusalem for *Newsday*. He has also served as the Long Island (N.Y.) newspaper's technology correspondent.

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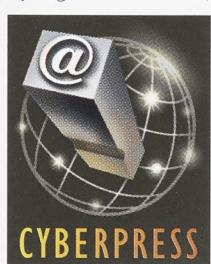
By Boris Babic

# FIGHTING FOR A FREE PRESS IN THE BALKANS

*Without the Internet,  
Milosevic's crackdown  
on the media just  
might have succeeded*

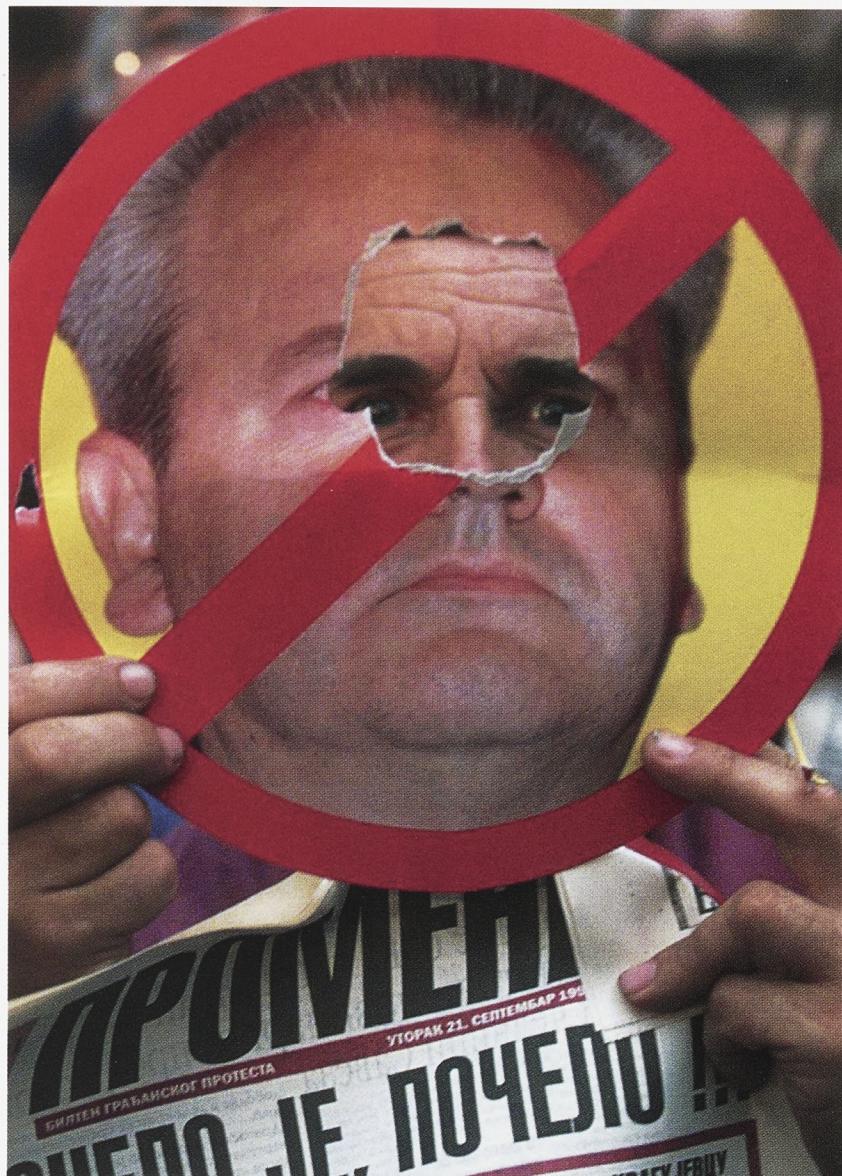
**O**n Apr. 11, 1999, three weeks into the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia, editor and publisher Slavko Curuvija was brutally gunned down by two masked attackers in front of his apartment house in downtown Belgrade. He was on his way home, ending his usual afternoon walk with his wife. The killers were never exposed.

Curuvija was owner and chief editor of the *Dnevni Telegraf* newspaper and the *Evropljanin* (European) weekly, which were openly critical of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's regime. During the months that led to the bombing, he and his papers were repeatedly targeted by the authorities, which used a very repressive Serbian media law enacted in October, 1998, to harass them. In retrospect, it is perhaps worse that vitriolic attacks by colleagues from state-controlled media actually signaled Curuvija's liquidation.



After the enactment of the 1998 Law on Public Information, with its broad possibilities to prosecute and impose draconian fines, independent journalists in Serbia had to fear bankruptcy. After Curuvija, they had to worry about survival.

Yugoslavia today is a remnant of a country that fell apart violently over the first part of the decade. Five countries sprang out of its territory, after three wars in 1991-95. Serbia and Montenegro remained in the Yugoslav federation, which also virtually stopped functioning amid increased tensions as the smaller republic



struggles to win more independence.

During the war in Croatia, which started in 1991, secessionist Serbs controlled a central third of the country's territory. Serbs also controlled up to three-quarters of Bosnia's territory, where trilateral fighting between them, the Muslims and the Croats erupted a year later. The former Yugoslavia and its 22 million people was fragmented by the lines of war.

## THROUGH REPRESSIVE EYES

AN ANTI-MILOSEVIC PROTEST IN  
BELGRADE IN SEPTEMBER, 1999

In the early '90s, the media in the three countries closely followed the nationalist line. People had no way of communicating directly with relatives and friends, as traffic and telecommunications were severed. People in Serbia and its



## SHUT DOWN

A FEW DAYS BEFORE NATO ATTACKED, RADIO STATION B92 WAS ALSO ATTACKED

satellite territories were totally isolated from Croats and Muslims.

In 1994, independent media started appearing in the three countries. A privatized state newspaper in Belgrade and two news agencies—Beta, for which I work, and Fonet—as well as numerous local radio stations for the first time offered independent information to the public. They also had access to reports from across the front line, as an e-mail network hooked into the Internet became operational.

The ZAMIR (For Peace) network was financed by the Open Society Fund, an institution fighting for human rights in most of the formerly communist countries in Eastern Europe. The network had three bases in Belgrade—at the Beta news agency, the B92 radio station, and the Civic Alliance for Serbia party. Although conceived as a way to exchange information, it was frequently used for personal inquiries about people on “the other side.”

The Fund, established and financed by the Hungarian-born financier-cum-philanthropist George Soros, also directly helped the fledgling independent media, drawing the wrath of regimes in Belgrade and Zagreb, which frequently accused it of being an instrument of international conspiracies.

As Yugoslavia was under strict U.N. sanctions since 1992 and Croatia and

Bosnia were paralyzed by war, the “real” Internet was unavailable.

Contacts between journalists were basically limited to meetings in foreign countries—early in 1995, a group of young journalists from seven countries of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia and Croatia, sat in a pub and over mugs of beer created an information-exchange project. I was welcomed at a later meeting of independent media chief editors from the same countries, and others expressed interest as well. But the forbiddingly high price and complications delayed any real collaboration until an easier solution appeared.

The door to the Internet was flung wide open only after the Dayton peace agreement late in 1995, and the subsequent end of armed hostilities in Bosnia and the suspension of U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia. Croatia had already recaptured its territory in two offensives earlier that year—the space it took control over was virtually empty, as 500,000 Serbs fled the advancing army. Official papers and television in Serbia took days to report on the defeat, but the news was available through independent media.

ZAMIR, fragile and frequently late during the war, had done its part and became obsolete with the normalization of telephone traffic and the emergence of Internet providers. The Open Society Fund still had its hands full, though, helping an increasing number of new media to survive. The European Union, the U.S., and individual countries from the

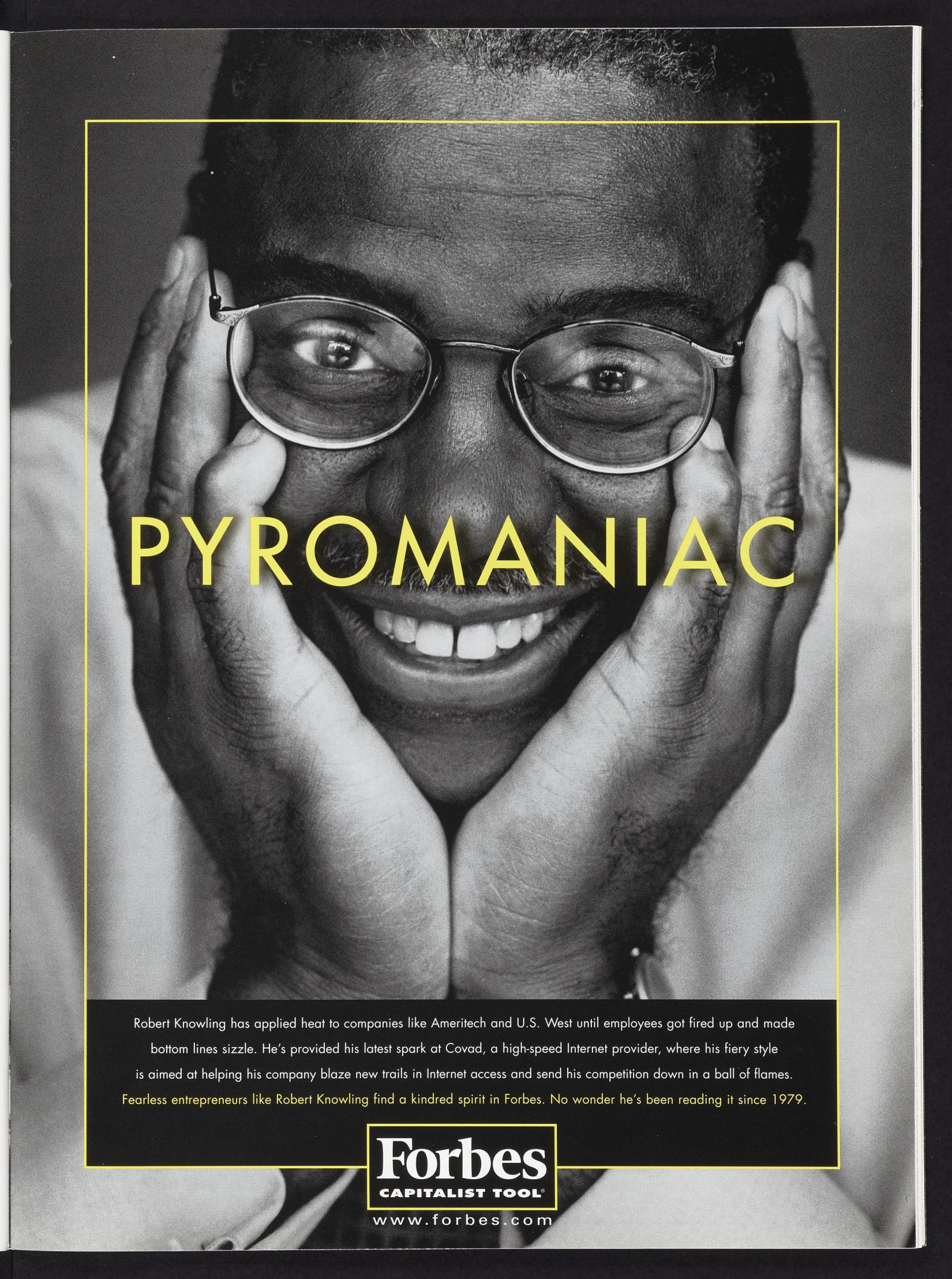
West also offered aid, mostly in equipment, sometimes in cash. Many of the projects failed—some because of the pressure by the regime, some because of the impoverished market.

The two years in Yugoslavia after Dayton would be described as highly dramatic in “normal” countries, but they slipped by quietly here. The media scene improved, with new papers, weeklies, radio stations, and the Internet offering uncontrolled information to the public. Also, falling prices finally allowed tens of thousands of homes to purchase the equipment to watch satellite TV.

Milosevic’s regime paid the price of the liberalization in November, 1996, when it lost local elections in Serbia, then tried to falsify the results. The tampering with ballots—the first where the authorities were caught red-handed—provoked the largest display of popular protest in Serbia’s history. For 88 days through that winter, hundreds of thousands of people marched the streets daily, blowing whistles. Many more were on balconies, banging away on pots, and playing loud music from speakers on the windows in the evening, during the central information program of the Serbian state television.

Official media were reducing numbers of protesters by a factor of 10 in their reports, but the Belgrade city television Studio B showed footage, the radio carried the sound of the unbelievable noise, and papers ran photos of the crowds. All of it could also be seen on the Internet.

The mutiny eventually forced Milosevic to hand the government of Serbia’s 23



# PYROMANIAC

Robert Knowling has applied heat to companies like Ameritech and U.S. West until employees got fired up and made bottom lines sizzle. He's provided his latest spark at Covad, a high-speed Internet provider, where his fiery style is aimed at helping his company blaze new trails in Internet access and send his competition down in a ball of flames. Fearless entrepreneurs like Robert Knowling find a kindred spirit in Forbes. No wonder he's been reading it since 1979.

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largest cities over to the opposition. The regime was seriously shaken. It pushed back with all its force in three directions—at the opposition, which it managed to divide; the students, with a new, repressive law on university life; and, with devastating consequences, in Kosovo.

The repression of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo increased to new highs. In contrast to the wars in Bosnia, the opposition and the independent media failed to distance themselves sufficiently and failed to push for a dialogue. Neither were the Albanians willing to talk much—they wanted out of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In early 1998, an armed conflict broke out between the Serbian special police and the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army. During the conflict, the Beta news

*As we descended the stairs there was another, more powerful series of deeply vibrating detonations that made the windows crackle*

program of Studio B before tuning in to listen to the BBC, before jumping to the Internet to read tomorrow's *Washington Post*, *Die Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, or *Le Monde*.

But an absolutely total media blackout over Kosovo began on Mar. 24, at 7:40 p.m., with the first NATO bombs.

I was bathing my 4-month-old son and listening to Britain's Sky Television news on the satellite. Minutes earlier, I made a bet—one pack of Marlboro Lights—with the local cigarette vendor that "they

cellar. As we descended the stairs, there was another, more powerful series of deeply vibrating detonations, with a blast of pressure that made the windows crackle. Later, we learned that the first explosion was actually eight kilometers away, and the second more than 15. Even before I evacuated my son, Igo, and my wife, Tina, to Germany two weeks later—I saw them again 104 days later—we became used to the explosions and stopped fearing them so much.

In Milosevic's game with the West over Kosovo, the Serbian Parliament, void of all opposition, adopted the media law. The regime said it wanted to force some responsibility on the media, accusing the independents not only of treason but also of slanderous reporting. The new law allows virtually anybody to sue a media outlet over virtually anything. Slavko Curuvija's operation and others felt the sting repeatedly. The law also provides for "express" trials, lasting less than 24 hours, on any day in the week, and for the rapid payment of the fines that can't be delayed by appeals. The fines are draconian, though the depreciating dinar took some bite out of them. When the law was introduced, the maximum fine for an individual—not necessarily a journalist, by the way—was roughly equivalent to \$7,500, or five years' work at the Beta news agency, which pays better than most media.

A few days before NATO attacked, the staff of the B92 radio was thrown out of their offices, leaving behind millions of dollars worth of equipment gathered over the years. The regime used as an excuse the muddled ownership status of the radio station, as they had done earlier in closing the *Borba* daily newspaper and, later, the newspaper *Vecemje Novosti*.

Soon after the attack began, the Serbian Ministry of Information summoned the editors of all media and advised them to take care about what they released. Detailed reports on hits by NATO warplanes were channeled exclusively through the state television—the rest could report only vaguely before the official version came through, if it ever did. Reports were carefully screened in all media before release—anything volatile, including Curu-



## IN HARM'S WAY

CBS REPORTER ANNA MARIA TREMONTI, PROTECTED BY BODY ARMOR, IN YUGOSLAVIA

agency and the Albanian-language daily from Pristina, *Koha Ditore*, started Kosovo On-line to attempt to promote a dialogue. The noncommercial site (still operational at [www.beta-press.com](http://www.beta-press.com)) featured articles by leading politicians, journalists, professors and other figures from both sides.

The Kosovo events were reasonably well covered by domestic media, both official and independent, and foreign media, regardless of contradictions. One could make one's own conclusions after reading the state mouthpiece *Politika* and Curuvija's *Dnevni Telegraf* or one of the other independent papers, watching the

would bomb us tonight." Sky interrupted the program, putting the reporter from Pristina on air. He said that powerful detonations were heard in Pristina. My wife, eyes all big and hands full of diapers and creams, looked at me. As any seasoned veteran who saw the destruction in Bosnia—it was horrible, even if I saw it only nine months into the peace—I started to tell her not to worry, that it was Phase One or whatever, that they wouldn't bomb north of the 44th parallel, in Serbia proper.

was cut short by an incredible rumbling that shook not only the windows but the whole house. I hugged the baby, all wet and foamy, and started running around trying to figure out where to hide him. My wife was crying, pulling us to the freezing

**Boldly go.**



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vija's assassination, was reported briefly, without a trace of comment or speculation. Foreign sources were used carefully and the word "genocide," in everyday use by the West when describing Milosevic's military units in Kosovo, appeared in reports under quotes, weeks into the NATO campaign, first in the two agencies, much, much later in the printed or electronic independent media. Foreign journalists were also scrutinized, and satellite channels had their tapes reviewed before they were allowed to air them. Visits to Kosovo were allowed only when organized by the authorities—foreign journalists could move freely only in Belgrade.

The Internet, though, remained clear of censorship. At several chat rooms, thousands of people exchanged information, including warnings that the planes or detonations were heard here or there. Opinions were freely spelled out anonymously and, for the first time in the Milosevic era, perhaps helped get some sympathy in the West for the suffering of the common Serb.

Agency journalism in those days was both extremely demanding and boring. Report after report was filed, 24 hours a day. In the daytime, we transmitted over and over the same quotes from the authorities and Western leaders, and overnight the same report on the attacks was filed and refiled, only with different datelines and times. But independent media became a nuisance to the regime in the latter phase of the war, as they became increasingly liberal in their use of quotes from the foreign press.

**A**fter 78 days of the increasingly aggressive campaign, Milosevic succumbed to pressure and withdrew security forces from Kosovo, allowing NATO in. The state-controlled press and television hailed the peace as a victory. They failed to report on yet another Serb exodus, the run of more than 100,000 Serbs in cars, buses, trucks, and tractor trailers from Kosovo. The independent media ganged up with the opposition that was virtually forced underground during the war—with Milosevic and NATO to choose from, it really had no choice—to criticize the regime over a war it waged for almost three months, only to effectively capitulate when it didn't really have to, after horrible damage was inflicted upon the civilian infrastructure, but no serious damage on the military machine. The opposition started a wave of rallies, beamed live over the Internet, in the organization of the B2-92, the new radio manned by people from

the impounded B92. Milosevic appeared to be tottering again.

But, as after the '96 local elections, he turned on his subjects with a new viciousness. Media repression in Serbia is finally starting to look like a classic dictatorship. In February, he openly said that the nation is divided between patriots and traitors, and the crackdown on media became worse than ever. Apparently preparing for local and federal elections, due this year, the regime is doing all it can to subdue independent sources of information, coupling the campaign of repression with a campaign of aggression through media it controls.

*Dnevni Telegraf* and *Evropljanin* died even before their owner did, bankrupt af-

on the outskirts of Belgrade was raided by men in combat police uniforms in early March. Two employees, a guard and a technician were tied up and badly beaten; the raiders also damaged equipment. The police denied involvement.

**S**tudio B is key both to the regime and the opposition, which since early in the year has been painfully trying to unify on a strategy that would force Milosevic to accept early elections. It provides the opposition with a television outlet and more than 2.5 million viewers in Belgrade, but it's also the largest link in the local media network that covers Serbia from the democratically ruled cities and towns. If it falls, many have said, it would



ter a string of fines they had to pay. (Curuvija's financial troubles created fertile soil for speculation that he was actually killed by loan sharks.) The *Glas Javnosti* daily, also in financial trouble after fines, lost its printing facility. Studio B, which since last fall also hosts B2-92, was sentenced to two fines in February and March and also faced threats of "legal action" over an enormous 11 million dinar debt for the temporary broadcasting permit. At the official exchange rate, the debt is \$1.7 million.

Worse might come. Aleksandar Tijanic, one of the most renowned journalists in Yugoslavia, was directly accused by the Tanjug state news agency of being an insider in the February assassination of the federal Defense Minister. Unlike Curuvija, he took the hint very seriously and very loudly said that he might be the next famous dead journalist. A Studio B facility

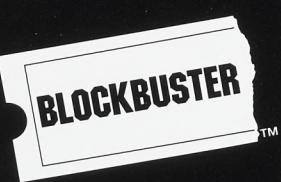
## PAYING THE PENALTY

SERBS LOOK OVER DAMAGE AFTER  
AM APRIL, 1999, NATO BOMBING  
IN DOWNTOWN BELGRADE

be the end of independent media for as long as Milosevic remains in power.

Even worse than an open dictatorship, the prospect of another armed conflict looms over Yugoslavia. In Montenegro, tensions are high between the increasingly visible Yugoslav Army, and clashes already have occurred in southern Serbia, in the three counties predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians. A uniformed and armed "liberation army" appeared there in February, bringing back memories of Kosovo two years earlier.

*Babic is the editor of the Beta News Agency in Belgrade.*



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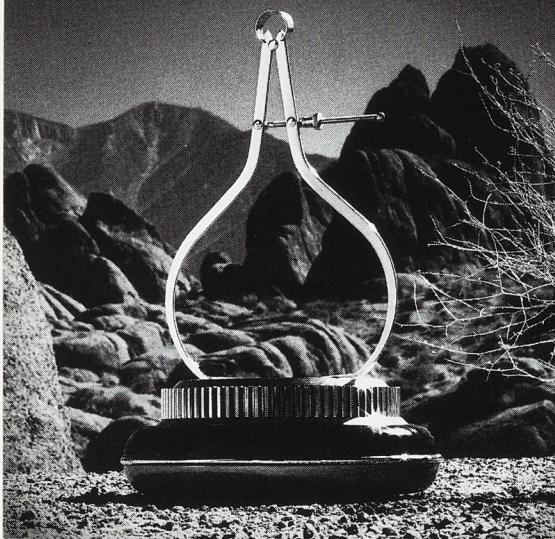
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# BANNED, BUT LIVE ON THE NET

By Larry Martz

When Suharto was running Indonesia, feisty journalism had its reward: It got you banned. But when the country's biggest and most respected newsmagazine had its publishing license yanked in 1994, its editor found a way to stay alive—on the Internet.

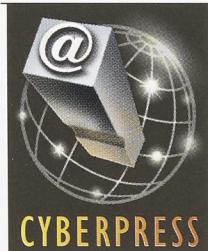
*Tempo* transformed itself into the Web site *Tempo Interaktif* and kept on reporting unvarnished news about what was going on in Indonesia. As sometimes happens, press freedom lived because of a vacuum in the repressive regime's oddly legalistic system. "The government simply had no law to ban us on the Internet," says *Tempo*'s founding editor, Goenawan Mohamad.

A journalistic crusader since his university days, Goenawan started *Tempo* in 1971, modeling it on *Time* and *Newsweek*. With its mix of political commentary and investigative reporting on human rights

and official corruption, it set new journalistic standards for Indonesia. Often at odds with the Suharto regime, it was briefly banned in 1982. And in 1994, when it started investigating Suharto's protégé and Technology Minister, B.J. Habibie, its publishing license was lifted for good.

That set off protests in Jakarta. But it was a demonstration 600 miles away, on the island of Madura, that convinced Goenawan he had to resist. He was invited to join a public "prayer of concern" for *Tempo*, organized by a religious school in a tiny village, and was astonished to

*Indonesia's oddly  
legalistic regime found  
no way of silencing  
Tempo online*



## FEISTY AS EVER

TEMPO RETURNED TO THE STREETS IN 1998, AFTER SPENDING FOUR YEARS IN CYBERSPACE

find 2,000 islanders at the meeting. When he asked why *Tempo*'s plight was so important there, Goenawan was reminded that two months before the banning, *Tempo* had covered the shooting by soldiers of four peasants from a neighboring village who were protesting the building of a dam on their land. The story had forced the government to appease the villagers.

"I was amazed," Goenawan says. The press freedom he had always believed in had morphed from abstract principle to flesh-and-blood reality. "From then on, I realized that I had to fight. It would be a great embarrassment, a shameless act, if I succumbed to the government's repression."

It took two years to get *Tempo Interaktif* up and running. At the time, Indonesia had only four Internet service providers that could furnish a site. The one *Tempo* chose, Idola, was big enough to offer long-term security, technical sophistication, and generous financial terms. Oddly, it was

also a semi-state company, owned in part by the central bank and the state-owned telecommunications company. It seemed that not everybody in the government was hostile to *Tempo*, and Suharto's control wasn't absolute—a telling portent.

Meanwhile, working secretly with other journalists, Goenawan set up an independent news agency to provide information for underground papers. Reporters whose papers were still allowed to print would file self-censored copy to them but would write more complete stories for Goenawan's network. "They gave us the real truth—no holds barred," he says. The agency's report was distributed to a select list, including some underground publications, via everything from fax machines to street urchins smuggling copies. After 1996, it was posted on *Tempo Interaktif*.

Reporters need sources, and the agency found them in

courageous government officials. "Some were very honest, despite all the corruption," says Goenawan. They were "disgusted by the whole system" and were willing to blow the whistle, as long as their names were shielded.

**T**he government never reacted to the Web site, except for a brief statement by the Minister of Information, who said in an interview that anyone in Indonesia could set up a site; no license was required, and in the event there was no censorship. It may be that the Suharto regime thought the whole thing was unimportant, since only a few Indonesians had the money and expertise to use the Internet. True enough: In the world's fourth most populous country,

nearly constant surveillance. He and his staff worked in "safe houses" scattered around Jakarta. When a government agent infiltrated the operation—as happened often—production would shut down, and the operation would move to a new location. Sometimes, however, the spy wasn't found until the police showed up in a raid, confiscating equipment and searching everyone on the premises. Says Goenawan: "I was frightened every time."

Along with the illegal news agency, Goenawan organized the aboveground Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information (ISAI, in its Indonesian acronym). "It was a new way of circumventing the information blockage by the government," he says. "We published instant books on current affairs. They were

lishing license requirements were revoked, and the bureaucratic route to starting publication—a maze that had taken seven years without bribe offers—was streamlined to three days. When *Tempo*'s publisher, Fikri Jufri, tentatively approached the new Information Minister, Lieutenant General Mohamad Yunus, "he told us, you can reopen anytime. I was shocked."

*Tempo* was back on the street in October, 1998. Most of Goenawan's reporters had moved on, and advertising was scarce in the economic collapse. But "thanks to the banning and all the publicity at that time, we were well known when we started up again," says Goenawan. The new staff, drawn in part from D&R, thrived on the new freedom. Circulation quickly hit 100,000, half the pre-ban figure.

Feisty as ever, *Tempo* picked up where it had been silenced: It resumed its investigation of Habibie, particularly his family's interest in a government deal he had made to buy 39 decrepit East German warships. But the story provoked no reaction from the new government. Habibie, Goenawan said later, "had no other choice, because he is badly in need of some kind of international legitimacy."

In 1999, however, Habibie was defeated in his bid for election. Goenawan, now 58, has turned over control of *Tempo* to a longtime colleague, Bambang Harymurti. He still writes a column for the magazine, trains young journalists, and travels widely. He has been honored with a Nieman fellowship at Harvard and the International Press Freedom Award of the Committee to Protect Journalists, and was named the International Editor of the Year for 1998 by *World Press Review*.

**BRAIN TRUST**  
HARYMURTI, GOENAWAN,  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR TORIQ HADAD,  
GENERAL MANAGER FIKRI JUFRI

usually banned after about a year, but by then they had been widely circulated, especially to campus newspapers all over the country." ISAI gave training courses for student journalists, teaching them to turn out "more professional and convincing publications," Goenawan says.

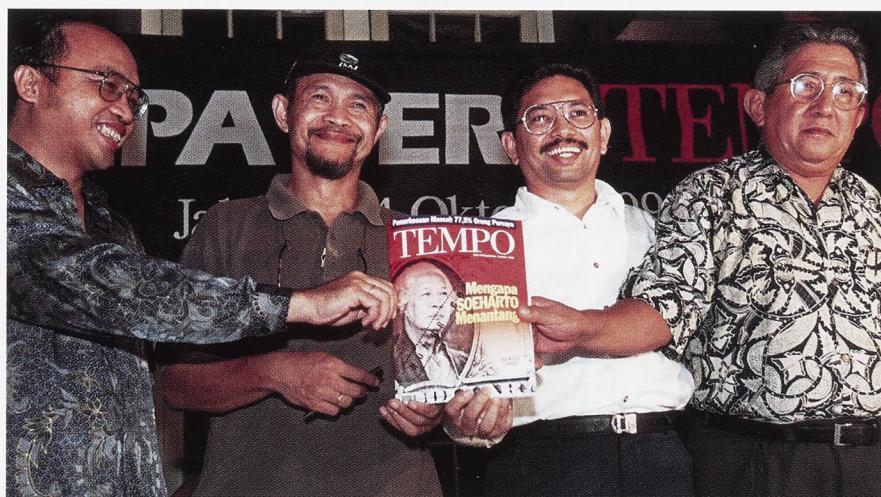
To fill part of the vacuum left by *Tempo*'s banning, Goenawan also helped convert D&R, a weekly detective and romance magazine owned by *Tempo*'s publishers, into a journal of news and political commentary staffed by *Tempo* reporters. The Suharto regime caught on to the sleight of hand and repeatedly threatened a crackdown, but D&R walked the delicate line between independence and outright defiance. It gained a reputation for critical reporting and helped keep the country informed.

When Suharto was driven from office in May, 1998, he was succeeded by none other than Habibie, and Goenawan was not optimistic about *Tempo*'s prospects. But Habibie, eager for approval from the West, moved fast to restore press freedom. Pub-

**S**o far, the new government of Abdurrahman Wahid shows no sign of reverting to Suharto's repressive ways: Indonesia's legal machinery still tilts to press freedom. Yet the government's control over the military and regional authorities is shaky, and reporters trying to cover ethnic and religious strife in West Timor, Ambon, and elsewhere have been harassed. Goenawan takes no liberty for granted. Government officials, he says, are not nice people, and some are spoiling for a fight. "We are very careful not to give the impression that we think we can do anything," he says. "We have to be ready for the worst."

That could be a mantra for all defenders of free speech.

*Martz, a former editor at Newsweek and the World Press Review, is first vice-president of the Overseas Press Club.*



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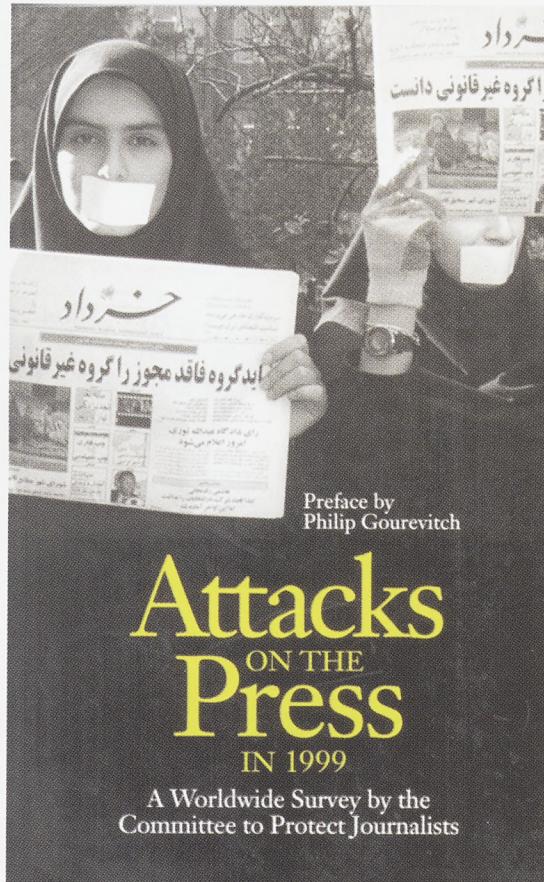
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# Harassing the Press in Ingenious New Ways



By John Langone

**T**he state of the press in 1999 left much to be desired in those parts of the world where democratic ideals are scorned or paid mere lip service.

As in years past, too many journalists were killed, attacked, and otherwise harassed as they struggled to gather and distribute information freely. The ominous words of Napoleon still resonated: "I shall never tolerate the newspapers to say or do anything against my interests." Last year, that threat was repeated by Mikhail Lesin, the chief of Russia's new Press, Radio & Television Broadcasting Ministry: "We have to protect the state from the media."

The number of journalists whose mouths were permanently shut in 1999—the targets of assassination or killed while

*Murder is the most outrageous form of censorship—but it's hardly the only way to attack journalists*

on assignment—underscores the fact that newsgathering is still a dangerous occupation in many places. Figures vary, depending mainly on perceptions of which victims were actually journalists and whether their deaths resulted from their work. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) offers a conservative estimate of 34 murdered journalists, a disturbing in-

crease over its 1998 estimate of 24; the Paris-based World Association of Newspapers puts the death toll at 70; and the Vienna-based International Press Institute (IPI) counted 86 journalists and media staff killed. (The CPJ did not include the 16 employees of Radio & Television of Serbia who were killed in their headquarters during NATO bombing raids in Belgrade.) Most of the victims were cut down in waves of violence in the Balkans, Russia, and Sierra Leone, and the majority of the killings remain unsolved.

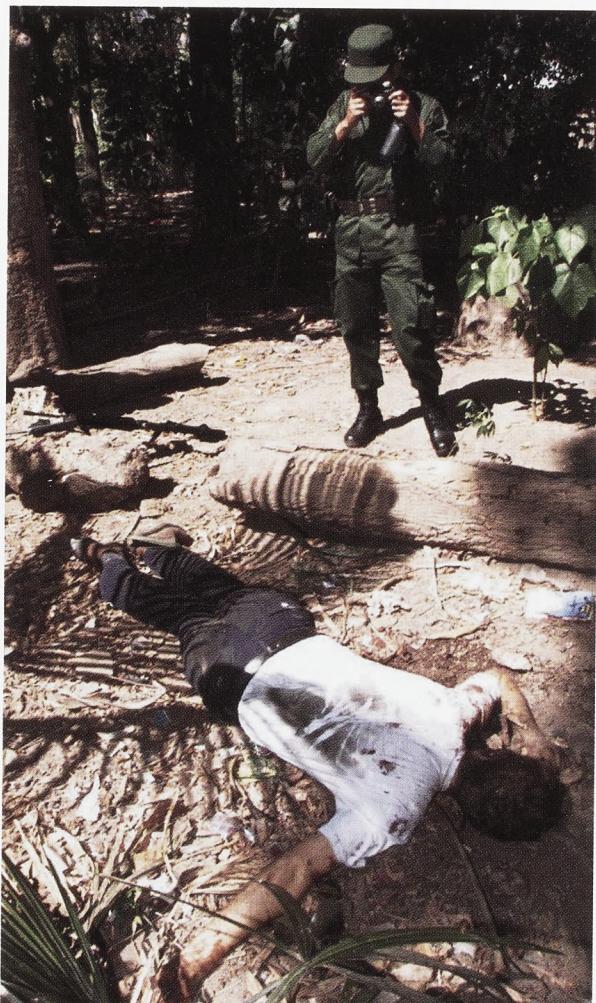
Whatever the true figure, every killing of a journalist indicates the lengths to which those who detest the press will go. As the CPJ put it in its annual survey, "Attacks on the Press in 1999," "with civil conflicts increasing in all regions of the world, the armed factions fighting them

often see journalists as witnesses to be eliminated." The IPI said its death count was second only to the horrifying toll of 1994, when wars in Bosnia and genocide in Rwanda were primarily responsible for a sudden surge in murders. "We end the century on a note of dismay," the IPI concluded. "Despite much talk of ethical principles and human rights, the struggle for press freedom still remains a lofty ambition in many parts of the world."

The picture was not all bleak. The number of journalists imprisoned in 1999, another barometer of the state of press freedom, suggests some relaxation in the level of harassment. In 1997, the CPJ counted 129 jailed journalists; in 1998, 118; and in 1999, it was down to 87. Turkey, which had been the premier jailer of journalists for several years, had nine fewer in prison than in 1998. In what was ostensibly a goodwill gesture two weeks before U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's visit to Beijing, China granted early release to journalist Gao Yu. But the degree of improvement was only relative: Turkey still had 18 reporters behind bars and China, now the chief warden of jailed journalists, was known to have 19 locked up. Egypt, where the government controls the licensing, printing, and distribution of newspapers, had dozens of journalists facing imprisonment on libel charges.

Moreover, many more journalists were arrested without being sentenced to long jail time—446, according to another watchdog organization, Reporters Without Frontiers. The Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, has locked up at least 60 for varying periods since the government took power in 1997. While most of them were released after short detention, they nevertheless got the message: Next time, we'll throw away the key.

But censorship has many guises. Although murdering and imprisoning journalists—and harassing them in every conceivable way, from cutting off their electricity to trashing and bombing their offices—are still highly effective means of stifling criticism, governments are learning that these methods draw enormous negative international attention. Consequently, while violence ebbed in some countries, it was replaced or supplemented by subtler but no less repressive methods of intimidation, all of which contributed to the generally bleak state of press freedom last year. In all, the OPC's Freedom of the Press Committee churned out a record number of protest letters to governments. Summaries of many of these cases follow.



**DUTCH REPORTER  
SANDOR THOENES  
WAS KILLED IN  
EAST TIMOR**

More and more last year, governments relied on legal actions such as repressive tax laws, specious libel suits, heavy fines, and censorious import regulations to shut up outside publications. The latest twist is the use of journalism itself to discredit and defame the media, undermining public confidence in the printed and broadcast word.

Where governments impose fines, they can range from hefty to a relative pittance. On the high end, Turkey hit the managing editor of a Kurdish-language paper with a fine of \$7,000, plus a year in prison; an Egyptian press law approved by President Hosni Mubarak dictates fines of up to \$5,900 for each count of defamation on which a reporter is convicted. On the other hand, a reporter might get off lightly in Yemen, where a court fined an opposition paper's editor \$26 for criticizing the government. Occasionally, a regime showed signs of compassion: When Bulgaria's parliament last year approved fines of up to \$15,500 in defamation cases, President Petar Stoyanov, a longtime free-

press advocate, vetoed them as "excessively high compared to the low income of journalists." And in Togo, where a slander charge against a reporter resulted in a \$1,700 fine, he was given the option of paying monthly installments.

In Pakistan, former Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif used regulations relentlessly to bully and muzzle a remarkably aggressive and vibrant press. One of his prime targets was the powerful Jang Group, a sprawling media company that publishes a magazine and six newspapers, using journalists who apparently did not always measure up to the Prime Minister's dubious standards. At one point, the government demanded that the group's publisher dismiss or demote more than a dozen senior writers whose names appeared on a government-compiled blacklist. When the publisher refused to comply, the group was hit with a series of tax-evasion cases, its bank accounts were

frozen, and its supplies of newsprint were impounded. By early 1999, according to the CPJ, Jang Group was running skeleton editions of its two flagship papers, each down to four pages from 24 or so. The crisis was resolved "amicably," which meant the taming of Jang Group. As one senior editor said: "There's a sword hanging over our necks. So we are behaving."

Well they might, given that Sharif's successor, General Pervez Musharraf, who took over the government in a bloodless coup, has given the media still more cause for concern. After the coup, Musharraf ordered all high court judges to swear an oath never to challenge his decisions—a command that many Pakistani journalists fear might soon be extended to them. Musharraf's comment that he was a "firm believer in the freedom of the press" was rapidly qualified: The press, he added, had a duty to "play a positive and constructive role."

Tax investigations (along with bombings of newspaper offices and assaults on reporters) played a key role in press attacks

in Ukraine, where media freedom has deteriorated markedly under President Leonid Kuchma. One offender last year was the independent STB TV, which was repeatedly harassed with hostile tax audits and technical inspections. Eventually, its bank accounts were frozen for alleged tax violations and its management taken over by the government. Kuchma has also encouraged officials at every level of government to harry opposition media with random audits aimed at frightening advertisers. His taxes and huge license fees have also forced media outlets that did not have foreign support to seek financial aid from businesses and politicians, who then extort favorable publicity.

Libel suits remain a favorite method of press suppression, and even when governments refrain from criminalizing libel, they are learning that huge fines can be just as effective as prison terms. Among the more distasteful examples brought to the attention of the OPC's Freedom of the Press Committee occurred in South Korea, a country where the press is only ostensibly free from direct pressure. After *Chosun Ilbo*, a major daily paper, merely

suggested in an editorial that some prosecutors in the Seoul District Prosecutors Office may have engaged in illegal wiretapping, 12 of the "offended" parties sued—and won a huge financial judgment. This happened even though the newspaper never singled out any of the prosecutors—public officials who should be aware that their position requires forbearance when their actions are called into question—and the editorial was totally devoid of any sign of malice.

**B**ut misuse of legitimate laws was not the only weapon imaginative regimes employed. In Peru, where President Alberto Fujimori pioneered the use of government-controlled papers to attack journalists (*Dateline*, 1999), he expanded that tactic in what the CPJ called "an avalanche of government-backed tabloids filled with defamatory articles about leading independent journalists." Other Latin American governments took note. In Guatemala, journalists were smeared in a mysterious radio program, and in Panama a group unleashed a public defamation campaign against the lead-

ing daily, *La Prensa*, and its associate editor after the paper ran stories linking the attorney general to drug traffickers.

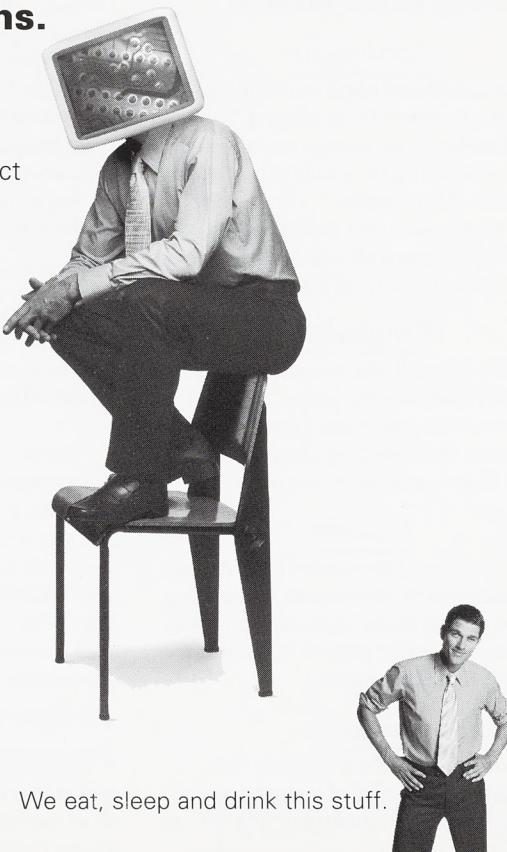
As in years past, the best way to battle the censors is still through heightened awareness of abuses, and by keeping pressure on offenders, as the OPC and other like-minded groups try to do. Where they dare, journalists caught in an atmosphere of intolerance can fight back, as they have countless times. They are learning to use the new tools of electronic journalism, including the Internet, to publicize abuses and back one another's causes. But the prime asset is still a stubborn belief that censorship, direct or indirect, is unacceptable. And despite the killings, the assaults and the fines, there is hope. Says Terry Waite, former adviser to the Archbishop of Canterbury who was himself held hostage in Lebanon: "I would suggest that in this age you do not despise the power of the written word, or the power of language to transform and to heal."

*Langone, a member of OPC Freedom of the Press Committee, is author of a current book series for The National Geographic Society.*

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Angola

• **RAFAEL MQARUES**, the Angolan representative of the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, was charged in October with defaming the president in an article in the weekly *Angola*. The charge was based on his reference to the president as an "authoritarian chieftain." For this supposed crime of "aggravated criminal defamation," he could receive a prison term of up to eight years.

• There is a serious pattern of harassment in Angola. Since 1994, five members of the press, all known to be critical of the government, have been murdered (none of them in 1999). Since the resumption of the country's brutal civil war in late 1998, many journalists have been attacked, arrested, and harassed, and independent journalists have been accused by the state-owned *Jornal de Angola* of "facilitating" the rebel movement.

Azerbaijan

• **FUAD QAHRAMANLI** was sentenced to 18 months in prison for an alleged "call to social disorder." The young journalist was convicted based on his article titled "Meeting Tactics of Opposition." A draft of the article, which was never published, was discovered in Qahramanli's office by policemen from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Bangladesh

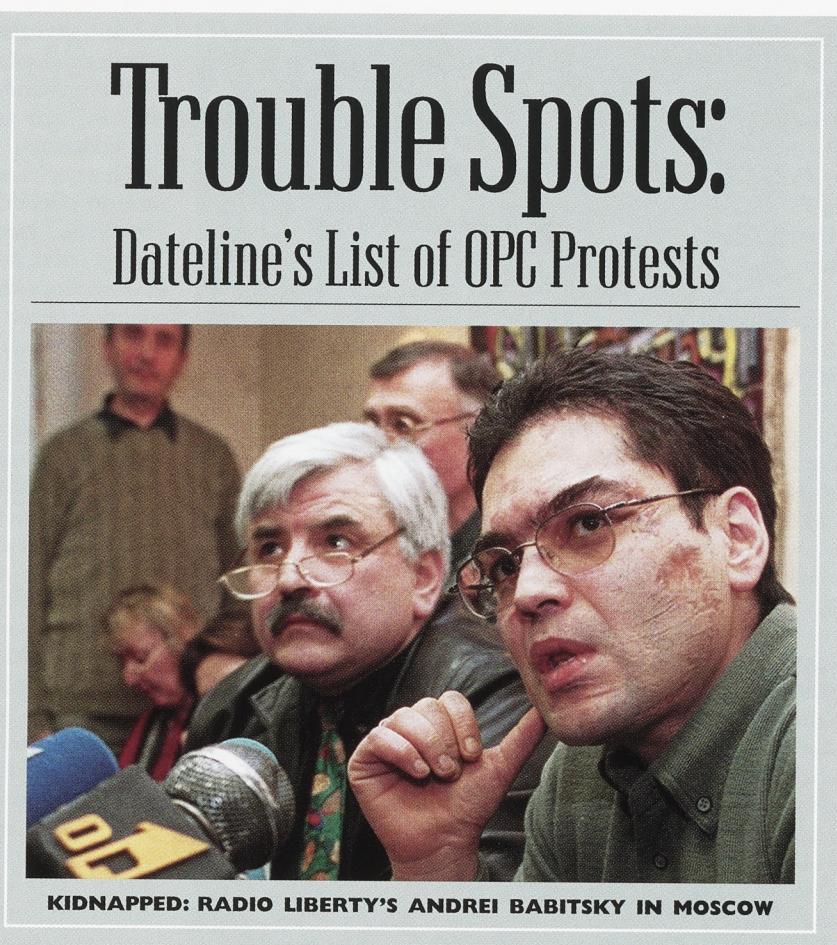
• On Oct. 27 in Dhaka, two photojournalists were badly beaten by the police, solely for performing their professional duties. Ironically, they were documenting alleged ill treatment of Islamic activists by the police.

Belarus

• The government threatened to shut down seven independent newspapers, contending that their reports on the upcoming presidential election were tantamount to inciting the overthrow of the government.

Bulgaria

• The International Press Institute (IPI) reports that since the fall of communism in Bulgaria, "hundreds of journalists have been brought into Bulgarian courts on criminal



KIDNAPPED: RADIO LIBERTY'S ANDREI BABITSKY IN MOSCOW

charges." After reporting in the newspaper *Orient Express* on how local Mafiosi were using "special treatment" while buying vegetables from farmers, **KALORIAN TZARCHEV** was assaulted in his flat and seriously beaten by unknown assailants. The journalist was also threatened with the loss of his fingers if he did not stop writing articles on this subject.

Cameroon

• **SOTER AGBAW EBAI**, a reporter for the English-language newspaper *The Herald*, was imprisoned after a libel complaint by the former Minister of Higher Education.

Chad

• **KOUMBO SINGA GALI**, director of publication for the newspaper *L'Observatoire*, and **POLYCARPE TOGOMISSI**, a reporter, were both sentenced to unconditional one-year prison terms for "complicity to defamation." The paper had published an interview with a leader of the rebel Movement for Democracy & Justice.

Chile

• Under the State Security Law, which makes it a crime to insult high authorities, the chief executive officer and the chief editor of Planta Publishing Company were arrested

and indicted for having published a critical book, *El Libro Negro de la Justicia Chileno*, by journalist **ALEJANDRA MATUS**. The entire press run of the book itself was seized and the author and publishers, **BARTOLO ORTIZ** and **CARLOS ORELLANA**, are being prosecuted.

China

• 20 journalists from Hong Kong, all of whom were officially accredited to cover the trial of Li Yuhui, were detained in Shantou for an hour in a local police station.

• Fourteen journalists are now being held in China's prisons. Among them are: **LIN HAI**, a software entrepreneur convicted of providing e-mail addresses of Chinese residents to a U. S. publication; and **MA ZHE**, who was trying to launch a literary magazine.

• The government of China plans to forcibly close some 200 provincial newspapers while merging many others into a single newspaper for each province. The provincial political science and law commissions—the very people whom the papers cover—will manage the new papers.

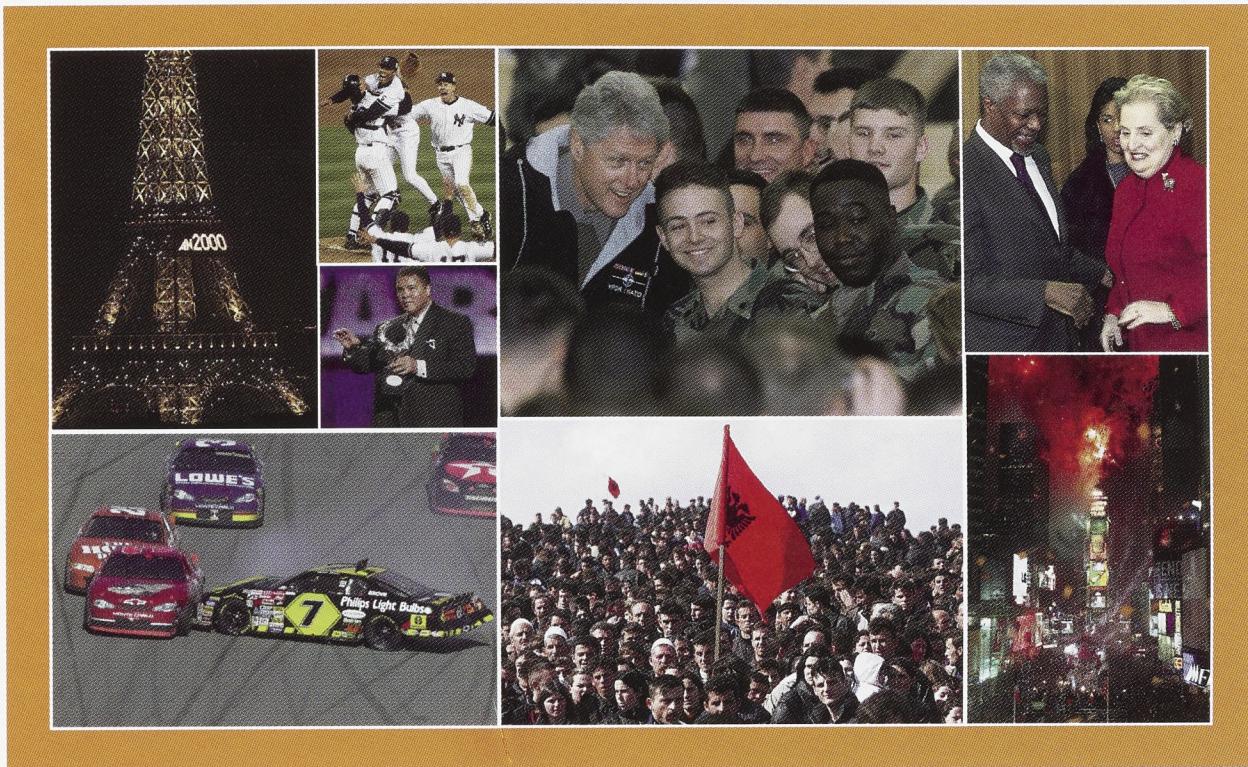
Colombia

• Colombia has reinforced its grim reputation as the most dangerous country in the world for journalists. The killing of television reporters **LUIS ALBERTO RINCON** and **ALBERTO SANCHEZ** in November, closely followed by the fatal shooting of TV cameraman **PABLO EMILIO MEDINA MOTTA** in December, brought the toll for last year to five. The other victims: political humorist **JAIME GARZON**; freelancer **HERNANDO RANGEL MORENO**; and **RODOLFO JULIO TORRES**, a radio correspondent. Dozens of journalists have been threatened, attacked or imprisoned for doing their jobs.

Congo

• Among dozens of abuses of press freedom by the government of President Laurent Desire Kabila, **RISASI GISONGA**, editor, and **YVETTE IDI LUPANTSHA**, news presenter, for the state-owned *Radio and Television National of the Congo* (RTNC), were arrested

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Reuters new photos, from left to right, clockwise:

The Eiffel Tower shines brilliantly to celebrate the new year and new millennium, Jan. 1, 2000, photo by Jacky Naegelen.

New York Yankees celebrate their victory at the 1999 World Series, Oct. 27, 1999, photo by Ray Stubblebine.

Boxing legend Muhammad Ali accepts Sports Illustrated's "Athlete of the Century Award," Dec. 2, 1999, photo by Mike Segar.

President Clinton talks with U.S. soldiers just before sharing a Thanksgiving meal with them in Kosovo, Nov. 23, 1999, photo by Larry Downing.

U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright meets with U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, Jan. 24, 2000, photo by Peter Morgan.

An estimated 2 million spectators gather to ring in the new millennium and watch the ball drop in New York City's Times Square, Jan. 1, 2000, photo by Mike Segar.

Ethnic Albanians commemorate the second anniversary of the first fighting incident between Serb forces and KLA guerillas, Feb. 28, 2000, photo by Hazir Reka.

Nascar drivers Michael Waltrip (car #7) and Dale Earnhardt (car #3) play bumper cars in this year's Daytona 500, Feb. 20, 2000, photo by Pierre Ducharme.

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**REUTERS** 

by the Congolese National Police. The two were accused as "traitors to the republic" and acting as spies for the United States for distributing copies of a videocassette of a press conference held by U. S. Ambassador William Swing.

- **ALBERT GILBERT BOSANGE YEMA**, editor of the newspaper *L'alarme*, went into hiding after publication of an article displeasing to the government. He has just finished serving a 12-month term for "endangering the security of the state." When the Groupe spéciale de sécurité présidentiel failed in its search for **YEMA**, they arrested his wife, five of his children, and two of his colleagues. They were held for 24 hours in an unofficial detention center where his son Théodore was whipped with military belts.

### Croatia

- In addition to a mounting list of criminal proceedings against journalists, more than 600 civil lawsuits have been filed against independent newspapers. Lawsuits brought against just three papers, *Globus*, *Nacional* and *Feral Tribune*, claim damages totaling more than \$22 million (U.S.).
- The US AID has set up a Legal Defense Fund through the Croatian Journalist Association to assist Croatian journalists under prosecution for insult and defamation.

### Cuba

- **JESUS JOEL DIAZ HERNANDEZ**, executive director of the press agency *Cooperativa Avilena de Periodistas Independientes*, who has repeatedly been harassed and threatened in reprisal for his work, has now been arrested, subjected to a hasty trial, and sentenced to four years in prison for "peligrosidad," the condition of being dangerous.

### Djibouti

- In early fall, 66-year-old **MOUSSA AHMED IDRIS**, co-director of *Le Temps*, one of only two opposition newspapers remaining in Djibouti, was arrested. **IDRIS**, the unsuccessful candidate in the presidential race last spring, was arrested in the middle of the night by a large contingent of police officers who found it necessary to fire rifles and grenades while also arresting 24 of **IDRIS**' relatives and supporters. One man, injured in the struggle, later died of his wounds.

### England

- As reported in *The Independent* in London, animal-rights activists kidnapped, hooded, and then branded TV investigative journalist **GRAHAM HALL** with a red-hot iron across his back with the letters "A L F," four inches high and nine inches wide. The initials stand for Animal Liberation Front. After being branded and thrown out on the road, **HALL**, received threats of death if he reported his kidnapping to the police. He went to the

police anyway. He believes his barbaric treatment was in reprisal for his award-winning program, "Inside the ALF," which exposed extremist animal rights campaigners, disclosing how they have made bombs, set cars on fire, and attacked other targets.

- A British judge threatened to imprison **EDWARD MOLONEY**, a reporter and Northern Ireland Editor for the *Sunday Tribune*, if he does not renege on his vow of confidentiality and give up his private notes, taken a decade ago, during an interview with a member of an illegal paramilitary group.

### Gambia

- Three journalists associated with a new bi-weekly newspaper, *The Independent*, were arrested and the paper shut down. The alleged offense was publication of a statement by the opposition United Democratic Party that described the president as the "richest person in the region" and the "most corrupt head of state in Africa."

### Palestinian National Authority

- Among many abuses, three journalists, all editors with the Islamic weekly *Al-Risala*, were arrested following publication of an article telling how a prisoner, Ayman Amassi, had allegedly been tortured while in police custody.

### Hong Kong

- Purporting to address public concerns "about the unsatisfactory conduct by some media organizations," the Subcommittee on Privacy of the Law Reform Commission of Hong Kong published a Consultation Paper on the "regulation of media intrusion." Its proposed Press Council is an apparent effort to force the media into self-censorship.

### Hungary

- On June 1, **LASZLO JUSZT**, editor of the weekly magazine *Kriminalis* and former host of a television program of the same name, was arrested and charged with revealing state secrets, even though an extensive police search found no evidence to support the accusation. **JUSZT** was held by police for seven hours as they searched his home, his farm, and his office. In addition, police confiscated many documents and all of the computers at the magazine's offices and then sealed off the premises, making it impossible to continue producing the publication. The state-run MTV channel also canceled his TV program.

### India

- Police in Delhi found the body of **APRIL RATTAN**, a freelance journalist and former correspondent for *Asiaweek*, stabbed and strangled in his apartment. The circumstances of his death have disturbing similarities to those surrounding the murder of **SHIVANI BHATHNAGAR**, an investigative

reporter for the English-language daily *Indian Express*.

- The Indian government has banned transmission of Pakistan television (PTV) within India's borders because, according to Information Minister Pramod Mahajan, PTV "has launched a vilification campaign against India."

### Indonesia

- Despite assurances that it is committed to the principles of free expression, concern remains regarding the new government's record of violations of freedom. In August, a reporter based in Aceh province for the daily *Medan Pos*, was abducted from his home and brutally murdered. He had been investigating corrupt dealings by agricultural officials.

- Just a week later, two Molotov cocktails were thrown at the home of **SJAMSUL KAHR**, chief editor of the daily *Serambi Indonesia*. **KAHR** has said he has been receiving death threats almost weekly since May.

- American journalist **AMY GOODMAN**, a reporter for Pacifica Radio, was barred from entering Indonesia last August while en route to East Timor to cover the vote on independence. **GOODMAN** said customs officials showed her her name, among many others, on what they said was a Defense Ministry blacklist. She had previously been beaten and arrested in retaliation for her efforts to cover the East Timor independence movement.

### Iran

- According to Amnesty International, student journalists **HESHMATOLLAH TABARZADI** and **HOSSEIN KASHANI** were arrested in mid-June, held in Evin Prison, and denied access to family or legal representation. They were accused, without details, of "issuing an anti-establishment communiqué" and "spreading propaganda against the Islamic system." Since then there has not been any official information on any charges brought against them. Their paper, the biweekly *Hoveyat-e-Khish*, was shut down.

- A number of moderate publications have been suspended or shut down by conservative courts and some of their editors are in jail awaiting trial. Last year, Parliament approved the outlines of a tough new press law that, among other things, would compel journalists to reveal their sources and would reinforce such institutions as the Revolutionary Court.

### Israel

- The Israeli government's decision to shut down the Jerusalem office of the *Palestine News Agency* (WAFA), the official news agency of the Palestinian Authority, is a flagrant violation of the right of journalists to "seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of



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frontiers," as guaranteed by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- Since March, 1995, Palestinian journalist **TAHER SHRITEH** has been denied the right to work outside Gaza. He is forbidden to meet with current and prospective employers, including international organizations to which he contributed in the past, such as *The New York Times*, the BBC, and *Yomiuri Shimbun*. **SHRITEH** has never been convicted of a crime. In 1993, he received the Freedom of the Press Award from the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., in recognition of, in part, his reporting on the *Intifada*, despite, as his award noted, "incarceration and harassment."

filed against a school by the son of a judge on the Malaysian Court of Appeal. The boy had been dropped from the school's debate team. The case was the first of several media-related defamation cases in recent years to have raised widespread concerns about press freedom and free speech in the country.

### *Mexico*

- After a series of stories on drug traffic, including allegations of involvement by the Federal Judicial Police (PJF), **JESÚS BARRAZA**, editor of the weekly magazine *Pulso*, was threatened with death. He employed a bodyguard, but the guard was beaten by men widely identified locally as members of the PJF.



**MACEDONIA: NATO SOLDIERS WITH THE BODIES OF SLAIN GERMAN JOURNALISTS GABRIEL GRUNER AND VOLKER KRAMER**

### *Kenya*

- **TONY GACHOKA**, editor in chief of the *Post on Sunday*, was sentenced to six months in prison after he published two articles alleging corruption within the Court of Appeal. Not only did the chief justice sue for libel, the attorney general mounted a prosecution for contempt, charging that the stories attacked the courts and the judges and thereby might incite a lack of confidence in the administration of justice. Three judges who had been mentioned in **GACHOKA'S** article sat on the seven-judge panel that heard the case.

### *Malaysia*

- **MURRAY HIEBERT**, a Canadian correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, was sentenced in September to a six-week term in jail for contempt of court. According to reports, he was prosecuted for an article he wrote on Malaysia's increasing litigiousness, including a description of a suit

attempted to arrest investigative reporter **HERASTO REYES** on charges of defaming the president.

- In January, 1999, officers of a special force called the Police Information & Investigation Board attempted to arrest *El Siglo* reporters **BLAS JULIO RODRIGUEZ** and **CARMEN BOYD MARCIACQ** on defamation charges stemming from an article about the sale of taxi licenses.

- In December, the new president, Mireya Moscoso, signed a bill partially repealing Panama's notorious gag laws. However, legal harassment of journalists continued.

### *Peru*

- **FELIX HARO RODRIGUEZ**, a photographer and radio journalist, was murdered in early June. His program featured traditional music, but according to the IPI, he commented often on local problems including official corruption and drug and terrorist activity. He disappeared after two unidentified people came to his home to hire him to take photographs at a social event. His body was found several days later near Cotomonillo, where six villagers had recently been assassinated by a brigade of the Sendero Luminoso terrorist group. He was killed and dismembered with machetes.

### *Philippines*

- An advertising boycott of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* was reputedly instigated by the office of President Joseph Ejercito Estrada. Although the *Inquirer* is the largest daily newspaper in the Philippines, many large advertisers have withdrawn recently, complaining of its coverage of the president. The boycott takes place against a deteriorated relationship between Malacanang Palace and the Philippine press. The president filed a libel suit last spring against the *Manila Times* after the paper linked him to a government contracts scandal.

### *Russia*

- **GRIGORY PASKO**, an officer of the Russian Pacific Fleet and a correspondent for *Boyevaya Vakhta*, was arrested for allegedly providing classified information based on his having filmed a Russian navy tanker dumping radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan in 1993. If found guilty, he could face up to 20 years in prison.

- **PASKO**, whose reports on the Russian navy were aired on Japan's NHK Television channel and published in one of Japan's leading newspapers, *Asahi Shimbun*, had already been imprisoned for 20 months, when he was charged with high treason and revealing state secrets.

### *Nigeria*

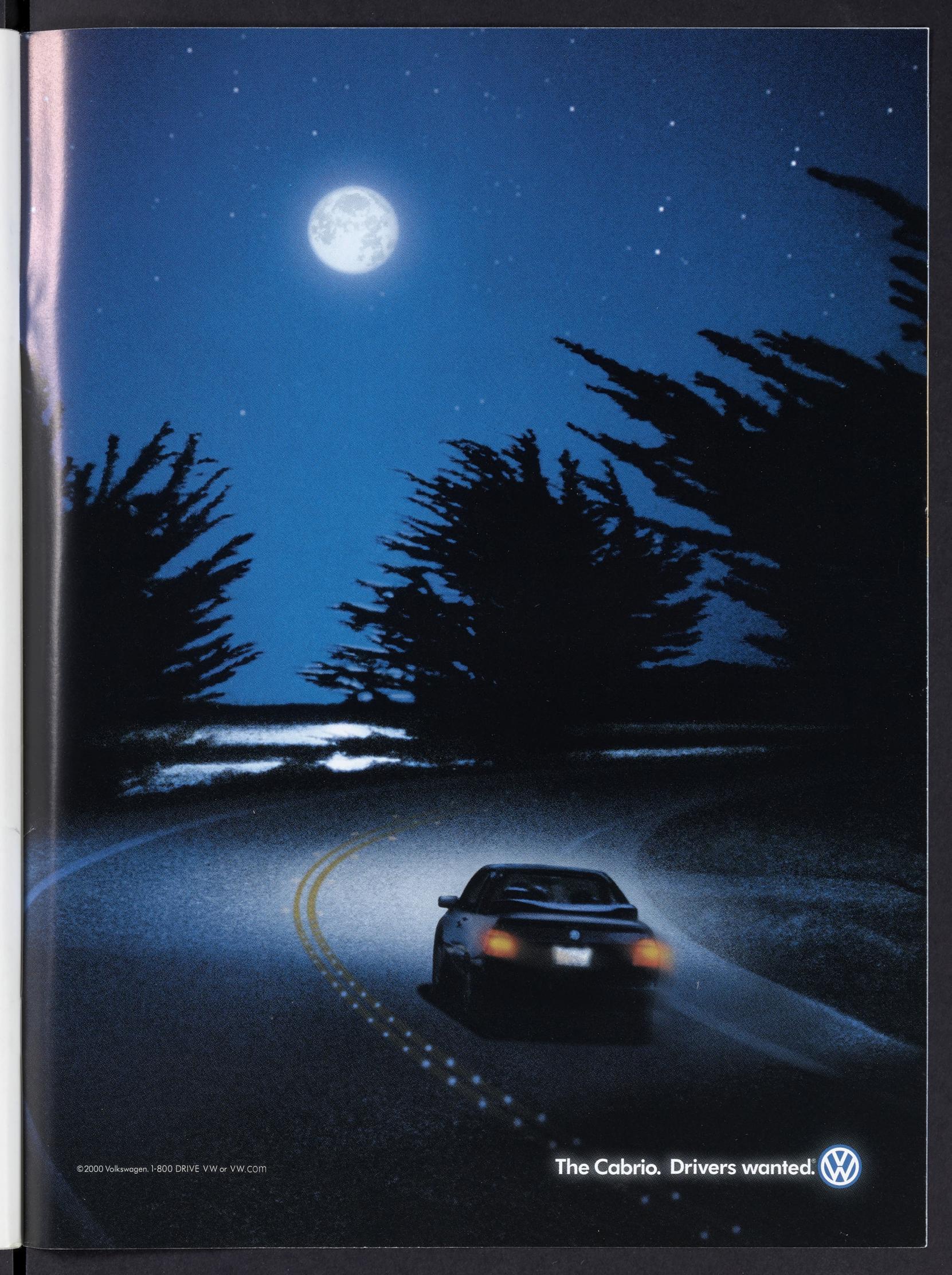
- **LANRE AROGUNDADE**, chairman of the Lagos Council of the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ), was arrested for alleged involvement in the murder of Bolude Fasasi, a former official of the NUJ, by three unidentified gunmen. The fact that he is facing trial in Magistrate's Court, which does not have jurisdiction to try murder cases, suggests an old pattern in Nigeria of prosecuting journalists on fabricated charges in irregular judicial proceedings.

### *Pakistan*

- **SAEED IQBAL HASHMI** has been the subject of repeated threats and harassment. Most recently, two men invaded his home armed with pistols.

### *Panama*

- In December, 1998, three officers from the Technical Judicial Police raided the offices of the Panama City daily *La Prensa* and



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### Rwanda

- **JOHN MUGABI**, editor of *The Newsline*, was arrested because he refused to identify his source for an article that accused a high government official of accepting bribes.

### Saudi Arabia

- 70-year old journalist **ISHAQ AL-SHEIKH YAQUB** was arrested on his return trip from Bahrain and reportedly beaten during questioning. The arrest took place at the end of the causeway between the two countries. The journalist has not been informed whether any criminal charge has been placed against him, nor has he had access to a lawyer. Amnesty International feels that he may be a prisoner of conscience and was arrested because of his activity as a journalist.

### Somaliland

- **HASSAN SAID YUSUF**, chief editor of the independent daily *Jamhurya*, has been in prison since May, 1998, in connection with several articles published in 1997. He was accused of, but apparently never tried for, "insulting important personalities, circulating false information and criticizing the leaders of the republic."

### Solomon Islands

- In June, the Governor General issued an amendment to the Emergency Powers Act of 1999 that prohibits any reporting that "may incite violence," "is likely to cause racial disharmony," or "is likely to be prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state." Possession of an official document by anyone "who has no right to retain it" is also criminalized, and violators of the new rule face up to two years in prison or a fine of as much as S. I. \$5,000 (U.S. \$1,050).

### Sri Lanka

- **SRI LI PRIYANTHA**, the defense correspondent for the weekly *Lakbima* newspaper, was severely beaten on Mar. 14 by 10 men wearing black hoods and carrying automatic weapons.

### Thailand

- In an attempt to intimidate the staff of the *Thai Post*, Deputy Prime Minister Trairong Suwankhiri's private secretary invaded the newspaper's offices with seven armed men to protest an article about the deputy minister's visit to a fishing village. The story said that Trairong had been afraid to meet with

protesting fishermen. The secretary said the story was untrue and had damaged Trairong's reputation. He demanded a retraction and, according to the paper's editor, threatened that "he would come back, but in a different manner" if the *Thai Post* printed another damaging story about the deputy minister.

### Tunisia

- In 1998, **TAOUFIK BEN BRIK**, a correspondent for the Paris-based daily *La Croix* and other European newspapers, was arrested and accused of writing "subversive materials" on the basis of an article that contained information on arbitrary police raids and house searches. In April, his passport was confiscated when he tried to leave Tunisia for a trip to Switzerland. His telephone and fax lines have been regularly interrupted; his wife's car was vandalized; and he has received anonymous threatening telephone calls. In May, he was attacked near his home by three men swinging bicycle chains, resulting in lacerations on his right hand.

### Turkey

- Since alleging that his colleague **SULEYMAN YETER**, who died while in police



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custody, was tortured while under arrest, *Dayanisma* journalist **BAYRAM NAMAZ** has been followed by police cars and otherwise harassed by officers.

• **ORAL CALISLAR**, a columnist for the daily *Cumhuriyet*, was sentenced to 13 months in prison for disseminating “separatist propaganda” in a book written in 1993. After protests by the OPC and others, the case was suspended for three years unless Calislar commits a similar “offense.” At yearend, Turkey was seeking admission to the European Union and freed a number of journalists, but still held 18 in prison—one fewer than China, now the largest jailer of journalists.

### Uzbekistan

• **SHADI MARDIEV**, a reporter for Samarkand regional radio, was sentenced to 11 years in prison in connection with satirical remarks he had made concerning deputy prosecutor Talat Abdulkhalikzada.

### Vietnam

• **BUI MINH QUOC**, editor of *Lang Biang* magazine, was placed under administrative detention and his magazine closed because of his pro-democracy views.

### Yemen

• **MOHAMMED SADEK AL-ODAINI**, a reporter for *Al Mithaq*, has been held without charges since December, 1997. He is accused, bizarrely, of killing a passerby while being assaulted by an unidentified group of men.

### Yugoslavia

• Three *Dnevni Telegraf* staff members—editor **SLAVKO CURUVIJA** and journalists **ZORAN LIKOVIC** and **SRDJAN JANKOVIC**—were sentenced to five months in prison under Article 218 of the Serbian Criminal Code, which criminalizes “spreading false information” that might “endanger public order and peace.” They remain free pending appeal.

• There is apparently an ongoing legal onslaught against the independent press in Serbia under the so-called Information Law. According to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), charges have recently been brought against the daily newspapers *Blic* and *Danas* and the independent television station *Studio B*, among others, that

could lead to fines of \$200,000 each—and could force them out of business.

### Zambia

• **ALPHONSIUS HAMACHILA**, a reporter for the independent *Monitor* newspaper, was beaten in late November after he wrote a report linking a candidate of the ruling Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) to corrupt practices.

• In a crackdown on Zambia’s biggest independent newspaper, *The Post*, 12 of its staff, including editor Fred M’membe, were charged with espionage for an article warning that Zambia’s armed forces were not prepared for an attack from neighboring Angola. The trial continues.

### Zimbabwe

• **MARK CHAVUNDUKA** and **RAY CHOTA** of the *Standard* newspaper, who reported the detention of 23 military officers who were allegedly planning to overthrow the government, were arrested and subjected to torture, aimed at forcing them to disclose their source. President Robert Mugabe defied a court order to release the two journalists.

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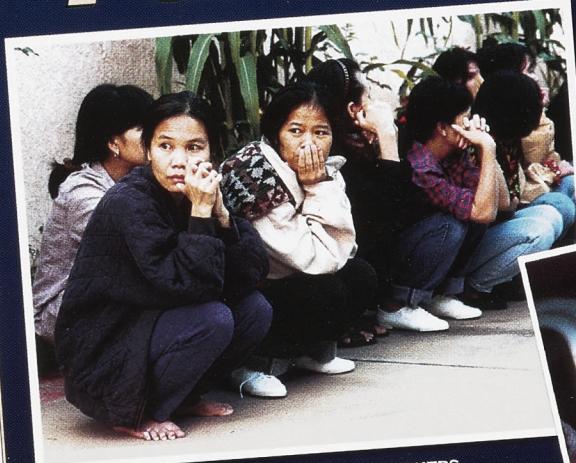
# PARADE

Each year an estimated 100,000 people are forced into servitude in the United States—in factories, small businesses, prostitution rings, farms and private homes.

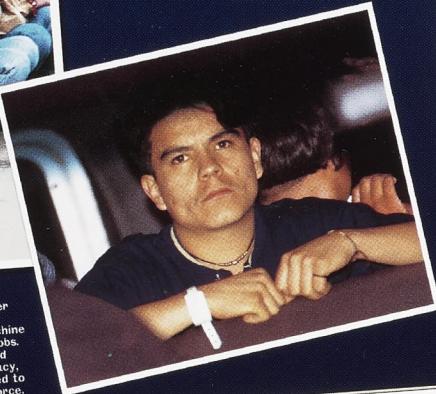
Now the U.S. government is asking Americans to help:

## A Call To Fight Forced Labor

A Report By Molly Gordy



**CALIFORNIA: INDENTURED GARMENT WORKERS.**  
Thai immigrant workers wait outside an apartment complex in El Monte, Calif., after the building is raided by authorities in 1995. Sixty laborers, virtually all women, had been forced to live in the complex and work 16-hour days there as sewing-machine operators. The workers had been lured to America by the promise of high-paying jobs. Upon arrival, however, they were taken to the complex and had their passports and valuables confiscated. Seven of their captors pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy, requiring indentured servitude and harboring illegal immigrants. They also admitted to operating their El Monte garment factory from 1989 to 1995 with a captive workforce.



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